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THE SISTER'S SON AND THE CONTE DEL GRAAL

In my article on the "Fisher King"¹ I drew attention to the fact that the ancient mysteries speak ritualistically of the tribal god as *πατήρ*² and suggested that a similar concept underlay the Grail story. I propose now to consider this question more fully, and incidentally to show its bearing on the plot of Crestien's romance.

¹ *PMLA*, XXIV (1909), 385-398 ff.

² Cf., especially, Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, 36 ff. In addition to my previous references, see H. Zimmer, *Der babylonische Gott Tamuz*, Teubner, 1909; Jane Ellen Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903, especially pp. 263, where possible matriarchal aspects of the Demeter-Kore cult are brought out; R. Fischel, *Der Ursprung des christlichen Fischsymbols*, Berlin, 1905; especially, I. Scheffelowitz, "Das Fisch-Symbol im Judenthum u. Christenth.," in the *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XIV (1911), 1-53; 321-392; J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, Basel, 1897; though B.'s theory of matriarchy as a political system is not accepted by ethnologists, his work contains an unusual wealth of classical material bearing on our subject. Thus he observes the association of the male principle with the water, Poseidon, Dionysos, Osiris, Orpheus; see pp. 39 ff. "So erscheinen [p. 43] zu Dodona Dione-Venus und Zeus-Acheloo, jene die stoffliche Erde, der Früchte Mutter (Apollod. apud Schol. *Od.* 3, 91, ll. 5, 370, 16, 233 sq; Ser. *Aen.* 3, 466; Cic. *N.D.* 3, 23; Hesiod *Theog.* 353, etc., etc.), dieser die zeugende Wasserkraft, die erst in der Geburt, also in der mächtigen, hochgewipfelten Eiche, zur Darstellung gelangt"; further, pp. 239 ff.

On the grail problem itself additional matter is adduced by L. von Schroeder in his *Wurzeln der Sage vom heiligen Gral* (Vienna Academy, Vol. CLXVI)—cf. also "Der arische Naturkult" in the *Bayreuther Blätter*, July, 1911. S. equates the Fisher King with the Norse Hymir: "Es ist [p. 66] Thórr, der Gewittergott, der den Bierkessel der Götter von Hymir erobert, wie Indra, der Gewittergott, es ist, der den Soma oder die Somakufe dem Vrita, Vala, Vivasvant usw. abgewinnt." S. also mentions the caldron of Odherir (cf. my remarks, *op. cit.*, 405, on Mimir, to whom it belongs), of which he says: "Man wird Hymirs Kessel und den Odherirs niemals verwechseln und kann doch erkennen, dass beide auf dieselbe Grundvorstellung zurückgehen." I am not qualified to discuss the crux of Schroeder's theory that the fundamental idea which underlies these parallels is "altärische Sage [p. 92]—in der uralten Vorstellung von Sonne und Mond als wunderbaren himmlischen Gefässen." One is naturally skeptical about such generalizations. Certainly, it is a bold leap from Crestien's silver trencher to the moon, and from the grail to the sun (p. 91), and yet I do not wish to prejudge the case. On the whole, I am more inclined to agree with the statement: "nicht nur mythische, sondern auch 201]

I

Perceval, whose name is not revealed until after the grail-visit, is called by Crestien in vs. 74¹ (Pot. II, vss. 1920 ff.): *li fi(l)z a la veve dame* (the term is repeated in *Perlesvaus*, p. 156). In accordance with her general theory of mystical origin, Miss Weston saw² in the term a proof of ritualism. Modern mystics informed her that "*Sons of the Widow* is a very wide-spread synonym for Initiates"; and its occurrence in ancient Egypt and among the sect of the Manicheans would give probability to this suggestion. But without following Miss Weston into the hazy realm of modern mysticism, we must admit that the term is striking and whether mystical or not is a suitable appellation for one concerned, that is, in Crestien, with the affairs of his mother's kin. This fact will appear clearly as we proceed.

In the passage following vs. 340 the hero says: "J'ai nom biax fi(l)z." This corresponds to Wolfram³ (*Parzival*), § 140, 6: "bon fiz, scher fiz, bêâ fiz, alsus hat mich genennet der mich dâ heime erken-net"—and whatever other significance it has, illustrates well the hero's ingenuousness, for thus any child might be called by its parent.⁴ Directly after the first grail-visit, the hero's cousin germane (Wolfram's Sigune) again asks his name, and there follows this passage (vss. 3534 ff.):

E cil qui son nom ne savoit
Devine et dit que il avoit

kultliche Wurzeln, die in die urarische Zeit zurückreichen, werden wir daher im Hintergrunde der mannigfachen keltischen Erzählungen von Zaubergefässen und ihrer Gewinnung vermuten müssen." Most important is the *Rig-Veda* (8, 66) version of Indra's conquest of the celestial Soma, the guardians of which are the Gandharven, in whom Hillebrandt (*Ved. Myth.*, I, 427, note) had seen the "genius of fertility." Without denying this feature, S. considers the Gandharven as the soul awaiting incarnation and compared him to Lohengrin (on whom, see Pestalozzi, *Habilitationsschrift*, 1908). In any case, he it is who opposes Indra, who shoots him with his arrow "und durchbohrt den Gandharven im bodenlosen Luftraum." The Soma-offering was an invocation for rain (*Regenzauber*) and Indra's conquest liberated the streams and rivers (cf. *PMLA*, XXIV [1909], 395 ff.). But it is incorrect to say that the rain-making feature of the grail ceremony is "ein bisher ganz dunkel gebliebener Zug der Graldichtungen."

¹ I cite from the Balst text throughout.

² *Sir Perceval*, II, 306 ff. "Perceval's title, perfectly natural given the *données* of the legend, suggested that he was an Initiate, and he stepped into Gawain's shoes."

³ Cf. also the Bel-Inconnu group of poems, which I intend to consider in a separate article.

⁴ On the use of *biaus frere*, see W. A. Stowell, *Old French Titles of Respect*, 147 ff., and Tappolet, *Verwandtschaftsnamen*.

Percevaus li galois a non,
 E ne set s'il dit voir ou non,
 E il dit voir si ne le sot.

That is, he divines or guesses his real name. Whereupon the cousin informs him that the Fisher King

"eüst regaaigniez
 Les membres e terre tenist,
 E[i]n si granz biens an avenist,"

if Perceval had asked about the lance and the grail. She explains further that his failure to ask was due to the sin he committed in deserting his mother:

"Por le pechié ce saches tu
 De ta mere t' est venu." (Vss. 3555 ff.)

Now, lest the fact escape us, it should be noted at once that Perceval, simple-minded as he is in the poem, is yet fully conscious of his duty toward his mother. The neglect of this filial obligation, owing to his enthusiasm for chivalry (Perceval's *desmesure*), is one of the romantic situations of the Perceval legend which has not always been brought out by the commentators. Having been invested with

La plus haute ordre avoec l'espée
 Que Deus a faite e comandée
 C'est l'ordre de chevalerie,

Perceval is first of all desirous:

Que a sa mere venir puisse
 E que sain[ne] e vive la truisse. (Vss. 1676 ff.)

And later, when Blanchefleur has wooed and won him so that he vanquishes Clamadeus and his seneschal, the excuse he gives for his sudden departure is that he must seek his mother:

"Que ge ma mere veoir vois." (Vss. 2915 ff.)

But his absence is to be temporary; he will return with his mother:

il lor met an covenant
 S'il trueve sa mere vivant
 Que avoec lui l'an amanra
 E d'iluec [an] avant tanra
 La terre, ce sachiez de fi;
 E se ele est morte autresi.¹

¹ The last line is significant as indicating the conclusion of the story.

Again, he is imploring God for a glimpse of her (vs. 2944: Qu'il doint veoir sa mere) when he meets the fisherman who directs him to the Castle of the Grail.

Yet, as we saw, the fact that he deserted her sealed his lips in the presence of the grail, and as a consequence great suffering will befall mankind ("enui an avandra toi e autrui"; cf. vss. 3553 ff.). It appears then that the return to the mother (the *motif* of desertion) is of more than incidental importance. Later romances of the Perceval cycle, such as the *Perlesvaus* and even *Syr Percyvèle*, bear out this conclusion. The "return" is an obligation the hero is bound to fulfil, since failing to fulfil it he fails *ipso facto*—in Crestien—in his most important adventure. The dramatic interest of our poem lies between these two poles of action: the obligation to the mother and the visit to the Grail Castle, and it seems improbable that a genuine Perceval tale ever existed without them. In *Syr Percyvèle*, which to be sure some scholars have considered primitive, the bond which united Perceval to the Fisher King seems to me to have been transferred to King Arthur, in my opinion, probably a later development.¹ Moreover, the Good Friday episode, that is, the interview with the hermit-uncle, is now seen to be the necessary consequence of what has preceded. The mother having died, Perceval is obliged to atone for her death if the curse for which he is responsible is to be removed. Hence the hermit's solicitude, expressed in the words:²

"Or te vuel anjoindre e doner
Penitance de ce pechié."

¹ Cf. below, p. 26. In Crestien the connection with Arthur's court appears loosely knitted. At the same time, the connection may antedate Crestien; he mentions Perceval as an Arthurian knight in his *Erec*, vs. 1525. The Arthurian portion of the *Conte del Graal* repeats virtually the technique of the *Ivain*: (1) *motif* of vengeance; (2) fight with a red knight; (3) wooing of the hero—"otherworld" visit; (4) search of the hero by the Arthurian court; (5) unhorsing of Keus; (6) return of the hero to court; (7) messenger denounces the hero; (8) hero departs and wanders distraught.

² Vss. 1394-1395. In Wolfram, Book IX, the motive for the question is pity, a feeling still foreign to the youthful Parsival's heart. Cf. § 473, 15:

daz er niht zem wlrte sprach
umben kumber den er an im sach.

According to Wolfram's ethical interpretation the hero thus commits a fresh sin, since he was evidently free to ask. Cf. § 473, 18:

doch muoz er sünde engelten,
daz er niht frägte des wlrtes schaden.

This sin he atones for, together with that of his mother's death, at Trevrizent's cell. But Wolfram no longer makes the mother's death responsible for the hero's failure. At

But why, we ask, should the success of the grail ceremony and the welfare of its two kings depend on Perceval's conduct toward his parent? For the simple reason, I believe, that Perceval, like Gawain in the main Arthurian tradition, is a *sister's son*.

In the English ballad¹ Arthur says to his nephew:

"Come here, cuzen Gawaine so gay,
My sisters sonne be yee."

With less emphasis but implying as much, the hermit² explains to the remorseful Perceval:

"Cil cui l'an sert fu mes frere,
Ma suer e soe fu ta mere."

In other words, the Grail King is our hero's maternal uncle, and a closer male relative Perceval could not have had. This concept is, I think, the basis of Crestien's plot. Through youthful ardor Perceval neglects his kin—that same kin, in the person of his maternal uncle, stands in the way of his final success until the former misdeed has been duly expiated. Not only was the success of the grail-visit to benefit the kin, but its failure prolongs the suffering of its chief representative, and inflicts positive harm on those connected with it. Therefore the messenger proclaims to Arthur's court in vss. 4640 ff.:

"Dames an perdront lor mariz,
Terres an seront esilliées,
E puceles desconseilliées
Qui orfelines remandrout,
E maint chevalier an morront,
E tuit avront le mal par toi."³

the same time the kinship ties are essentially those mentioned by Crestien (see below). Trevrizent calls Parzival, § 475, 19: "Ileber swester suon," and adds a significant detail not found in Crestien; namely, that in killing the Red Knight (Ither, according to Wolfram) Perceval has slain his own kin ("din eigen verch erslagn"), for Ither is Parzival's cousin (on the paternal side, § 498, 13), himself the sister's son of Uther Pendragon, § 145, 12. His death Parzival is also to requite. Thus Wolfram has complicated further the bonds of relationship, whether on his own initiative or not is impossible to tell, making the connection between the Arthurian court and the Grail dynasty more intimate than in Crestien. On the other hand, his hero has advanced a step in that the motive of his silence is no longer an external "taboo" but a youthful lack of human, Christian sympathy.

¹ *King Arthur and King Cornwall*; see Sargent and Kittredge, *Eng. and Scot. Pop. Ballads* (Boston, 1904), p. 50. Compare the interesting article of Professor Gummere in the *Furnivall Miscellany*, where additional instances may be found.

² Vss. 6377 ff.

³ Cf. *Parzival*, §§ 316 ff., where there is no trace of this general effect in the messenger's imprecation. See above, p. 4, note.

Indeed, the messenger's reference to Fortune:¹

"Ha! Percevaus fortune est chauve
Derriers e devant chevelue,
E dahez ait qui te salue!"—

which the author of the *Perlesvaus*² elaborated, is singularly appropriate to this dramatic moment. There is almost a touch of Greek feeling in the manner in which the poet here portrays the inexorable-ness of fate.

In agreement with this fundamental notion of the sanctity of kinship, we find that the poem carefully explains all the kinship ties, and that with one exception these are all on the maternal side. Like the Grail King, the hermit to whom Perceval does penance is a maternal uncle, the Fisher King is a cousin germane, likewise the damsel whom Perceval meets outside the Grail Castle (vs. 3562). Blanchefleur, of course, belongs to a different *gens*, but her uncle is Gornemanz,³ whose brother germane was slain by Anguinguerron (vs. 2270), their common enemy. The exception is found in the account given of the hero's father by Perceval's mother (vss. 398-468; Pot., II, vss. 1607-1682). The father was feared *An toles les isles de mer*; the son may boast, says the mother:

"Que vos ne descheez de rien
De son lignage ne del mien,
Car je fui de chevaliers née
Des mellors de ceste contrée.
Es isles de mer n'ot lignage
Meillor del mien an mon aage." (Vss. 401-406.)

The passage I have italicized shows where the emphasis is placed; that is, although the mother is speaking of her husband she stresses her own lineage.⁴ Besides, it would have been unusual had Crestien made no reference to Perceval's father (cf. his other romances, especially *Cligés*). As I have stated elsewhere the manner of the father's wounding (*parmi les hanches*) is so similar to that of the Fisher King that it possesses little originality.⁵ While, then, I see

¹ Vss. 4608 ff. Cf. *MLN*, VIII (1893), 230-38, for the history of the expression.

² Pot., I, 24 ff.

³ In *Peredur* Gornemanz is confused with the hero's own uncle; see Loth, *Mabinog.*, II, 59; Hertz, *Parz.*, 479.

⁴ Cf. *Perlesvaus*, p. 185.

⁵ *MLN*, XXV (1910), 249. See, also Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia*, XI, 1-2, where Arthur himself is wounded *letaliter* and carried to Avalon to be healed. I tried

no reason for agreeing with Newell¹ that "the passage, intended to emphasize the woes of the widow seems . . . obviously to be the work of a later hand," nevertheless Wolfram's statement that the mother was already a widow at the time of her flight to the woods appears to me closer to the original situation. To what apparent absurdities the uncertainty as to Perceval's father could lead is seen in the *Perlesvaus*,² where the father is still living when the son leaves home. The other references Crestien makes—in this connection—to Uther Pendragon (*pere le bon roi Artu*), the King of (Es)cavalon, and Ban de Gomeret,³ are perhaps inspired by the desire to connect the tale more intimately with the Arthurian setting, though it is well not to affirm this too strongly. In any case, since Crestien has not given the father a name, and does not so much as mention him again, we may assume that to all intents and purposes he was nameless, and that his having once existed is a fact of no genuine importance to the plot of the romance. Thus it follows that a primary condition of the story is kinship, and that this kinship is matrilinear or matriarchal.

The full significance of this I shall bring out presently. It may be noted first that the outline of the story conforms entirely to this situation: A youth of uncertain fatherhood fares forth into the world to win renown, and an inheritance. His ignorance of life appears in various foolish or ill-advised acts he commits. But he is valiant and strong, and obtains assistance (instruction) from those who require his support. He frees a luckless maiden from oppressors and then weds her. The maiden virtually offers herself to him. He comes within reach of his goal, and is on the point of being recognized and established by his nearest kin (the maternal uncle), but fails at first because his mother has died through his neglect.

to make clear in my "Fisher King" that the Grail King, and not his son, seems to have been originally the "important" person. In Crestien he is still the uncle, though it is his son (i.e., his earthly representative) who is to be cured. Cf. the reviews of my article: F. Lot, *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, LXX (1909); A. Nutt, *Folk-Lore*, XXI (1910), 112 ff.; E. Brugger, *ZfS.*, XXXVI (2-4) (1910), 71-74; L. Jordan, *Literaturbl.*, XXXII (1911), 335-37.

¹ *King Arthur and the Table Round* (Boston 1897), II, 252.

² Pot. I, 19. In *Perlesvaus* the hero is descended through his father from Glais (patronymic of Glastonbury, see *MP*, I [1903], 248) and through him from Nicodemus.

³ Cf. *Erec*, vs. 1811: *l'usage Pendragon mon pere . . . doi je garder e maintenir*; vs. 1975: *vint li rois Bans de Gomeret*; on Escavalon, see the Gawain part of the *Conte de Graal*.

As is well known, Crestien did not complete his romance. In fact, in MS 794 the text breaks off in the middle of a sentence. But from what has been said it is sufficiently clear that having atoned for his fault, Perceval was doubtless to return to the Grail, perhaps to be initiated into its mystery,¹ probably to succeed the Fisher King, and of course to be reunited to Blanchefleur. Any other plan on Crestien's part seems to me precluded. The continuation of the poem found in MS Bern 113—the so-called *Rochat Perceval*²—practically ends in this way:³ the Fisher King before dying says:

"Ore, biaux niés, si est bien drois,
ains que vos avant en saccois,
que vos corone d'or portés,
sor vostre cieuf, et rois serés,
car ne vivrai mais que tier ior,
ensi plaist il a creator."

So much for the problem presented to us. The matriarchal idea is evidently the *Leitmotiv* of Crestien's work in contradistinction to Wolfram and the later romancers, whose hero is actuated by Christian ideals—in Wolfram by "pity," in the Quest-versions by "purity," to which the author of the *Perlesvaus* adds the Augustinian idea of grace ("Sire, fit li hermites, or n'oubliez pas à demander, se *Diez le vos veust consantir*, ce que li autres chevaliers oubliat").

Let us now inquire into matriarchy as a system, the evidence of its survival in the territory from which Crestien's work may have come, the references to the idea in other story-material of the twelfth century, and the significance of Crestien's *Conte del Graal* as an illustration of the system.

II

Generally speaking, matriarchy is the system of tracing family descent through the mother's line, and is not to be confused with

¹ See my "Fisher King," *PMLA*, XXIV (1909), 365 ff.

² Cf. A. Rochat, *Ueber einen unbekannten Percheval le Gallois*, Zurich, 1855, p. 91; in this version the Fisher King is P.'s uncle; see Heinzel, *Französ. Gralromane*, 58 ff.

³ Compare also the ending of the *Parzival*, §§ 781 ff.: Parzival joins his wife and two sons at the Grail Castle, asks the question, thus releasing Amfortas, and becomes ruler of the Grail kingdom. Also *Didot-Perceval*, Hucher I, 484-485; Weston, *Sir Perceval*, II, 84.

⁴ Pot., I, 83; cf. also 130: "Et Damediez li doint tel volenté et vos autresi; que vos puisiez feire la volenté au Sauveor"; also 5, 89 ff. "Pity" Gawain has in *Perlesvaus*, 89: "si an a grant pitié, et ne li souvient d'autre chose que de la doulor que cil rois soufre"—yet this does not suffice.

gynocracy or the supremacy of women. It is defined with German precision by Schrader¹ as "jene, wie die Völkerkunde lehrt, noch heute bei gewissen Völkern des Erdballs übliche Familienordnung, die zwar den Begriff des Ehemanns (auf längere oder kürzere Dauer) nicht aber den des Vaters kennt, weil eben die Kinder nicht dem Vater, sondern der Mutter gehören und nicht den Vater oder Vaterbruder, sondern die Mutter, bezüglich den Mutterbruder oder mütterlichen Grossoheim beerben." Essentially then, matriarchy is a law of descent based on "the larger social fact, including the biological one, that the bond between mother and child is the closest in Nature."² In recent writers on this subject it is made clear that while the expression of the male power is obscured, the principle of male authority is always in force, and the tribal matriarchal group may be defined as "a fighting male organization living in a group of females."³ Hence it is not inconsistent to find in the Perceval story man physically and politically supreme and yet filiation taking place on the side of woman.

While power is thus vested in the male, the leader of the group is not the blood father but the mother's nearest male relative, usually her oldest brother.⁴ This necessarily resulted from the ephemeral nature of primitive marriage and from the custom that the husband during the period of cohabitation resided with his wife's kin.⁵ In

¹ *Indogermanen* (1911), pp. 75 ff.

² From W. I. Thomas, *Sex and Society* (Chicago, 1907), p. 66. The sociological literature on the subject is large and is constantly growing. In the main, I have followed the following authorities: E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, 39-100 ff.; L. von Dargun, *Mutterrecht u. Raubehe*, Breslau, 1883; *idem*, *Mutterrecht u. Vaterrecht*, Leipzig, 1892; J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, Stuttgart, 1861; E. W. Hopkins, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, XIII, 56 ff.; B. Delbrück, "Indogermanische Verwandtschaftsnamen," *Saxon Academy of Sciences*, XI, 586 ff.; O. Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan People* (tr. Jevons), (London, 1890,) pp. 395 ff.; G. Wilken, *Das Matriarchat bei den alten Arabern*, Leipzig, 1884; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 1885; H. Ploss, *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*, II, 379; E. B. Tylor, "Matriarchal Family System," *Nineteenth Century*, 1896, p. 89; M. A. Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem* (London, 1902), pp. 107 ff.; E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity* (London, 1909), I, chap. IV, "Motherright." I was unable to procure Otto Hoffmann, "Die Verwandtschaft mit der Sippe der Frau," in the *Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Universität zu Breslau*.

³ Cf. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 69, note. Perhaps it is safer to say, instead of "a group of females," a group of which the female is the unit of descent. I would guard against the danger of overstating the case. See, for example, in reference to the Greeks, Farnell, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, VII (1904), 70 and H. J. Rose, *Folk-Lore*, XXII (1911), 277.

⁴ Dargun, *op. cit.*, 56-57; Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, I, 99.

⁵ Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 59 ff.

this way the *sister* gains great prominence in the social system¹ since it is her son who succeeds to the *potestas* of the family. "The practice of the Wamoima [in Africa]," says Thomas,² "where the son of the sister is preferred in legacies, because 'a man's own son is only the son of his wife,' is typical." Examples have been gathered from almost every part of the world which establish the correctness of this statement. Wherever matriarchy prevails or prevailed, and its occurrence is exceedingly widespread, the tendency constantly is to accord the nephew or niece more importance than the direct offspring. A few striking cases may be cited; for others I refer to the authorities cited in the footnotes.

On the island of Efate in the New Hebrides a kindred or family reckoning descent from the same mother in female line is called *nakainanga*. . . . Hence it was the duty of a man to instruct his sister's son, not his own son, because he was not of the same *nakainanga* and the father would not be responsible for him. The chief of a village has the right to appoint his successor. He appoints not his own son, "but in preference to all others his sister's son, who by the law of the *NAKAINANGA* is considered nearer and dearer to him than his own son, and to be his proper heir."³

Among the Tahl-tan of British Columbia "kinship so far as marriage or inheritance of property goes, is with the mother exclusively; and the father is not considered a relative by blood."⁴ The Wyandot Indians, according to J. W. Powell,⁵ recognize four groups: the family, the gens, the phratry, and the tribe.

The gens is an organized body of consanguineal kindred in the female line. "The woman carries the gens" is the formulated statement by which a Wyandot expresses the idea that descent is in the female line. Each gens has the name of some animal, the ancient of such animal being its tutelary god. . . . Each gens is allied to other gentes by consanguineal kinship through the male line, and by affinity through marriage. . . . Children, irrespective of sex, belong to the gens of the mother."

¹ See J. J. Bachofen, *Antiquarische Briefe*, I, 144-209, for the intimate ties between brother and sister.

² *Op. cit.*, 62; from J. Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*, II, 57

³ See Hartland, I, 291, from Rev. D. Macdonald; *Rep. Austr. Assoc.*, IV, 722-23.

⁴ Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 280, from Dawson, *Am. Rep. Geol. Survey Canada*, 1887, pp. 7 ff.

⁵ *Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*, I, 59 ff.

In northeast India "the son does not succeed his father, but the raja's neglected offspring may become a common peasant or laborer; the sister's son succeeds to rank, and is heir to the property."¹

In Loango [in Africa] the uncle is addressed as *Tale* (father). He exercises paternal authority over his nephew, whom he can even sell. The father has no power; and if the husband and wife separate the children follow the mother as belonging to her brother. They inherit from their mother; the father's property, on the other hand, goes at his death to his brother (by the same mother) or to his sister's sons.²

Possible traces of the system are found in the Bible: Sarah is related to Abraham only on the paternal side (Gen. 20:12); Tamar could have become the wife of Amnon, her half-brother (II Sam. 13:13); Laban tells Jacob: "These daughters are my daughters, and these children are my children" (Gen. 31:43), and the well-known marriage injunction is: "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife" (Gen. 2:24). The laws of Solon in Athens also permitted the marriage of brother and sister who were not of the same mother.³ Herodotus⁴ says: "Ask a Lycian who he is, and he will answer by giving his own name, that of his mother, and so on in the female line." According to W. Robertson Smith⁵ the ancient Arab sentiment held the sanctity of women to be inviolate, the greatest of insults being an insult to them—an idea which he traces to female kinship.

Accordingly, the bond between brother and sister is scarcely second to that uniting mother and son.⁶ Antigone in Sophocles endures for Polynices toil and suffering that she would not have undergone for husband or children.⁷ The wife of Intaphernes, Herodotus⁸ tells us, when allowed by Darius to claim the life of a single man of her kin, chose her brother, saying that husband and children could all be replaced. In this connection the student of

¹ Tylor, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

² Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 281. From A. Bastian, *Deutsche Exped. an der Loango-Küste* (Jena, 1874-75), I, 166.

³ Wilken, *op. cit.*, 41.

⁴ Rawlinson, I, 173; cf. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 64.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 100 ff.

⁶ See especially J. J. Bachofen, *Antiquarische Briefe*, I, -209, and Potter, *op. cit.*, 196.

⁷ Thomas, *op. cit.*, 65.

⁸ Rawlinson, III, 119.

Arthurian romance is at once reminded of the significant rôle taken by Perceval's sister in the Quest-versions¹ and the striking passage in the *Conte del Graal* (vss. 8697 ff.) where Sir Gawain plays an important part in the affairs of his female kindred.² So, too, Professor Gummere finds in his ballad studies³ that brother and sister afford older instances of confidence and affection than husband and wife or lover and sweetheart. Ballad literature records the same preference of the sister's son over a man's own child which we noted above apropos of African savages—a condition which Tacitus⁴ posits of the ancient Germans in the words: "quidam sanctiorem artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmitus et domus latius teneant." Gummere cites an excellent example,⁵ probably the best on record, of the concentration of this kinship bond, in the Danish ballad *Nilus og Hillelille*; here the marriage of Sir Nilus places in mortal conflict brother and sister, two sister's sons, and the maternal uncle.

While, therefore, the matriarchal system put the maternal uncle in an exalted place, as the chief of the clan—the juridical *πατήρ* of the family—granting him control over its children, the physical father, if recognized at all, was quite a subordinate personage. This practice obtained, as has frequently been shown, as long as women controlled the marital arrangement, as long as they exercised the primary right of selection and possessed, as they did in ancient Arabia,⁶ the privilege of dismissing their husbands and choosing others. Says Hartland:⁷

Where the matrilineal clan is in full force, or where the family has been formed within the larger organisation of the clan but has not yet succeeded in supplanting it for effective social government, the husband remains subordinate to the wife's male kinsmen, her uncles or her brothers.

¹ See Jessie L. Weston, *Sir Perceval*, II, chap. v; Brugger, *ZfS.*, XXX (1904) (6-8), 126 ff.

² Quant ele de fi le savra
Qu' ele est sa suer et il ses frere
S' an avra grant jole sa mere
Autre que ele n' i atant. (Vss. 9034 ff.)

Cf. also Weston, *op. cit.*, I, 209.

³ *The Popular Ballad*, 182 ff.

⁴ *Germ.* 20, 9.

Op. cit., 183.

⁵ J. Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, 65 ff.

⁶ *Primitive Paternity*, II, 94.

And even when the family as such has become firmly established, the sons sometimes still pass at an early age to their uncle's care or must be purchased from the wife if they are to continue in the father's control.¹ The rise of the paternal supremacy is a moot question which cannot be discussed here. Nor does it affect our problem directly, though it may enter into the larger question of the primary *motifs* of Arthurian romance. But for the present that is neither here nor there, and it is enough to note that primitive man is averse to sudden, radical change, and even long after the triumph of the male, the social sanctions of the past obtain to a considerable extent. So that we may find "a formal elevation of woman to authority in groups where the actual control is in the hands of men."² Moreover, we should not forget that the word "clan" is essentially a sociological term. Only in a general way is it synonymous with blood-relationship.³ While the blood-bond is *considered* to unite the various members of a clan, it can be acquired through ceremony, or by sucking the blood of a member of the clan, as Cuchulinn sucks that of Dervorgil, thus becoming her blood-brother.⁴ In this way, "many savage peoples are organized as totemic clans, each clan bearing the name of an animal or plant supposed to be akin to the human members of the clan."⁵ The clan once constituted, each member shared in the privileges and deprivations to which any member thereof was liable. He was entitled to protection, but he was compelled to guard the clan against attack and to take part in its feuds and avenge injuries to it. But his greatest restriction was "the prohibition to marry or have sexual relations with any woman

¹ Hartland, *op. cit.*, II, 89.

² Thomas, *op. cit.*, 73.

³ See the clear distinction made between the "physiological" and the "social" by Van Gennep in his *Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909. "C'est [p. 4] le fait même de vivre qui nécessite les passages successifs d'une société spéciale à une autre et d'une situation sociale à une autre: en sorte que la vie individuelle consiste en une succession d'étapes dont les fins et commencements forment des ensembles de même ordre: naissance, puberté sociale, mariage, paternité, progression de classe, spécialisation d'occupation, mort. Et à chacun de ces ensembles se rapportent des cérémonies dont l'objet est identique: faire passer l'individu d'une situation déterminée à une autre situation tout aussi déterminée." And in speaking of initiations proper (p. 97): "Il convient donc de distinguer de la puberté physique la puberté sociale, de même qu'on distingue entre une parenté physique (consanguinité) et une parenté sociale, entre une maturité physique et une maturité sociale (majorité), etc." I follow in the presentation above the discussion found in Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 257 ff.

⁴ Eleanor Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, 82.

⁵ Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 257.

of the kin." Consequently we find marriage taking place with women of a different kin. For obvious reasons, the theories on the origin of exogamy cannot be discussed here.¹ Our purpose, however, is served in recording its existence, practically the world over, in connection with the primitive clan organization. Endogamous clans there were, but the characteristic tribal life was exogamous. Upon this all ethnologists agree.²

III

In considering now the evidence presented by Arthurian literature, we naturally look first of all to the Celts, especially as we have good reasons for considering the grail ceremony to be in the main of Celtic origin.³ Relations between the French (Normans and Angevins) and the Celts of Brittany and Wales were intimate from the time of the Conqueror until the end of Henry the Second's reign, while there was inter-communication between Ireland and the Continent as well as between Ireland and Britain long before and during this period.⁴ We have ample reason therefore to take note of what the ancient Irish law⁵ has to say with reference to the duties of the

¹ Cf. G. E. Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, I, 117, on the "problem of exogamy." Fraser, J. G., in his *Totemism and Exogamy* (New York, 1910), argues for the separation of the problem of exogamy from that of totemism. See with respect to his views the discussion in *Folk-Lore*, XXII (1911), 48-81, by Westermarck, A. Lang, and Van Gennep.

² Frazer's argument (see above) is that exogamous rules sprang from an aversion to marriages of near kin. This view Lang enlarges (*op. cit.*, 84) by saying that the "aversions to such unions, through the association of ideas, led to the prohibitions of marriage between members of the same clan on account of the notion of intimacy connected with a common descent and a common name." Thomas, *op. cit.*, 57, says, "aside from its origin, exogamy is an energetic expression of the male nature. Natural selection favors the process by sparing the groups which by breeding out have heightened their physical vigor."

³ See my previous articles in *PMLA*, XXIV (1909), and *Elliott-Studies* (1911).

⁴ The evidence on the communication with Ireland has recently been put together by Dr. T. P. Cross in his study of Marie's Ynec in the *Revue celtique*, XXXI (1910), 424 ff., and it is unnecessary to repeat here. On Norman and Breton, and Norman-Welsh relationships see the historians of the period: notably Freeman, *Norman Conquest*; Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, London, 1905; J. E. Lloyd *History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, Vol. II; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et comtes de Champagne*, Vol. II; Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Anzeige* No. 20, 1890; J. Loth, *Revue celtique*, XIII (1892), 475-503; John C. Fox, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXV (1910), 303-306; Zimmer, "Ueber directe Handelsverbindungen Westgalliens mit Irland im Alterthum und frühen Mittelalter," *Prussian Academy*, 1910, II.

⁵ Cf. *Ancient Laws of Ireland (Senchas mor)*, Dublin, 1865-1901; H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Résumé d'un cours de droit irlandais*, Paris, 1888-92; *idem*, *Études sur le droit celtique*, Paris, 1895 (*Cours de litt. celt.*, VII, VIII); *idem*, *La famille celtique*, Paris, 1905; Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, 1903; O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, 3 vols.

kindred. The Irish law provides that when a sister's son has been slain, the maternal uncle shall avenge him.¹ *Glasfine* is the technical name given him; that is, in D'Arbois' words,² "*famille grise et bleue*, parce que, dit-on, le père est un étranger qui est arrivé en Irlande sur la mer grise et bleue; il n'a par conséquent pas de famille en Irlande; il ne peut donc donner une famille à son fils, et celui-ci est considéré comme faisant partie de la famille de sa mère." In harmony with this idea we find the Irish practice of *tinnsra* or male dowry (*le douaire*), essentially a form of the bride-price. A passage in the Book of Leinster accounts for it on a legendary basis.³ It is by this means that Conchobar becomes king of Ulster, for when Fergus, son of Rogh, sues for the hand of Conchobar's mother, she stipulates as a *marriage portion* that Conchobar should hold the kingdom for a year so that his children may be known as the children of a king.⁴

The matrilinear side of Celtic tribal life is also seen in various provisions of old Welsh law. For example, if a youth or maiden under twelve, because of the father's death, is placed under guardianship, the guardian is of the maternal kin, so that he may not be tempted to deprive his charge of his property or shorten his life.⁵ Again, one version of the Vendotian Code⁶ provided that in case of murder, one-third of the blood-money (*galanas*) had to be paid by the murderer and his father and mother, if living; but two-thirds fell on the kindred, which "was defined as 'from maternity to maternity unto the seventh descent.'" The Welsh law, like the Irish, made provision that when a girl married a non-tribesman,⁷ the responsibility for her sons rested with the maternal kindred, who had to provide an inheritance and pay the fine in case they committed a

¹ *Ancient Laws*, IV, 244, ll. 20-22.

² *Op. cit.*, VII, 187 ff. See also M. A. Potter, *op. cit.*, 125 ff.

³ Cf. D'Arbois, *op. cit.*, 233; O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS Materials of Ancient Irish History*, 501.

⁴ Cf. E. Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*; Lady Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*; "Windisch ed. of *Book of Leinster*," *Saxon Academy*, XXXVI (1884); D'Arbois, *Épopée celtique* (*Cours de lit.*, I).

⁵ Walter, *Das alte Wales*, § 199; also *Welsh Medieval Law* (Laws of Howel the Good), ed. Wade-Evans, Oxford, 1909.

⁶ See F. Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales* (London, 1895), p. 79 (for a different version see p. 80). Consult also the evidence cited by Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 274; and A. Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 109 ff.

⁷ According to H. Lewis, *Ancient Laws of Wales* (1889), pp. 56-57, 197, marriage had to be outside of the *tre* or kindred who lived in one inclosure.

crime.¹ "Das Wichtigste," says Walter,² "aber war dass solche Söhne ihren mütterlichen Grossvater neben den Brüdern ihrer Mutter beerbten, selbst wenn diese die Tochter des Grundherrn war, so dass dann deren Sohn der Grundherr seines eigenen Vaters wurde." Thus while the Celtic clan, at the time we can observe it in the extant law tracts, was maintained on the agnatic principle, there is ample evidence that it may have passed through the matriarchal stage,³ traces of which survive until relatively late. So that we may agree with Lang⁴ that the presumption is that Celtic tribal society developed much as the *local* tribes did elsewhere, on the basis of kinship as first reckoned in the female line.

As for the Picts there is little doubt that royal succession never went from father to son in early times. "Failing brothers," says Lang, "the succession went to the son of the sister." Not that women were politically dominant. "Im Gegentheil," says Zimmer,⁵ "nirgends herrscht, soviel wir sehen eine Frau: die Mutter, also die Geburt, bestimmt aber die Stammeszugehörigkeit. Auf einen Piktenherrscher und seine Brüder folgt nicht etwa der Sohn des ältesten, sondern der Sohn der Schwester, auf diesen und seine eventuellen Brüder von Mutterseite folgt wieder ein Schwestersohn und so fort."

¹ Wade-Evans, *op. cit.*, 211: "If a Cymraes [i.e., a Cymric woman] be given to an alltud, her children shall have a share of land except the principal homestead; that they are not to receive until the third generation; and therefrom originate cattle without surety, because, if he commits a crime, the mother's kindred pay the whole of his *galanas*." Cf. according to Walter, the *Vendotian Code* (Peniarth MS, 29) I, 97.

² *Op. cit.*, 165.

³ See J. E. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, I, 284 ff.

⁴ *History of Scotland*, I, 78 ff. Contrast D'Arbois, *Cours de litt. celt.*, VII, 242 ff.; also S. Reinach, *Revue celtique*, XXVIII (1907), 233. "Le droit irlandais," says D'Arbois (p. 246), "conserve à la puissance paternelle la durée consacrée par la coutume primitive celto-romaine." Yet, the son of a sister, the *gormac*, "avait droit à l'usufruit de l'héritage maternelle." And: "le privilège modeste accordé au fils de la sœur par le droit irlandais nous éloigne du droit romain avec lequel s'accorde le droit gaulois quand, en règle général, il fait durer la puissance paternelle aussi longtemps que la vie du père."

⁵ *Zeitsch. der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, XV (1894), 218-19. The ethnological theories, however, which Zimmer sets up on the basis of the above fact (see pp. 234 ff.) must be taken *cum grano salis*. See *Revue celtique*, XVI (1895), 188-20: "La loi irlandaise du IX^e siècle," says D'Arbois, "admet le droit successoral des neveux par les femmes." The Prussian Academy has recently published (Feb., 1911), a further article by Zimmer, "Der kulturhistorische Hintergrund in der altirischen Heldensage," which elaborates that scholar's views; on this, in turn, consult *Revue celtique*, XXXII (1911), 232 ff.

Turning now to Irish literature, we find that Conchobar is commonly known by his matronymic alone, as Conchobar mac Nessa.¹ This fact Nutt has discussed in an interesting manner in his treatment of the supernatural birth.² "He [Conchobar] was the son of a god who incarnated himself in the same way as did Lug and Etain; this is probably the oldest form, and it may be owing to the fact that the father's name was unknown that Conchobar is usually described by the matronymic alone." Perhaps the case is more correctly stated by saying, that here, as elsewhere among primitive peoples (with few exceptions), kinship being reckoned through the mother, the question of paternity, i.e., *actual* paternity, was little regarded, except that a great hero must naturally have sprung from a father of illustrious rank. Hence the motherhood is fixed while the fatherhood varies; and supernatural birth occurs most commonly where the principle of matriarchy prevails.³

This fact is quite evident in the birth-story of Conall Cernach—the primitive character of which is obvious. In the *Cóir Anmann*⁴ we read:

When his *mother's brother*, Cet Magach, heard that his sister would bear a child that should slay more than half the men of Connaught, he continued protecting his sister until she should bring forth her boy. . . . Druids came to baptize the child into heathenism, and they sang the heathen baptism over the little child, and they said: "Never shall be born a boy more impious than this one toward the men of Connaught [his mother's kin]; not a night shall he be without a Connaughtman's head on his belt." Then Cet drew the little child towards him, and put it under his heel and bruised its neck, but did not break its spinal marrow. Whereupon its mother exclaims to Cet: "Wolfish [*conda*] is the treachery [*fell*] thou workest, O brother!"

¹ D'Arbois, *Cours de litt. celt.*, V, 4 ff. (transl. by Dottin); Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, 63; Kuno Meyer, *Revue celtique*, VI (1885), 173. So, too, Lug is called Lug mac Ethlenn (the name of his mother), cf. *Revue celtique* XVI (1895), 298.

² Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II, 72 ff.

³ Hartland, *op. cit.*, II, 283 ff. H. rejects the view that motherright is founded on the uncertainty of paternity, and concludes that "whereas motherright was founded on the recognition of a common blood, fatherright was traceable to social and economic causes of a different character, that no assertion of a common blood was implied in fatherright, but that it was an artificial organization formed upon the analogy of the organization of motherright which it supplanted." I am, of course, unable to judge the extent to which Hartland's views may be accepted, but that the primitive blood-tie, and all that the term implies, was through the mother, can hardly be doubted.

⁴ See Whitley Stokes, *Irish Texts*, III, 2 (Leipzig, 1897), summary by Nutt, *op. cit.*, II, 74.

"True," says Cet, "let Conall [*Con-feall*] be his name henceforward." And he gave her son back to her. Whence he is called wry-necked Conall.

Again, Bres,¹ the son of Eri, is on his maternal side a kinsman of the Tuatha Dé; for even if his mother is both the wife and the sister of Elatha, king of the Fomorians, she and Elatha are the children of Delbaeth, a king of the Tuatha Dé Danaan;² accordingly the text³ speaks of her as "a woman of the Tuath Dé." And when Nuada falls ill, we find Bres succeeding him. "A contention as to the sovereignty of the men of Ireland arose between the Tuath Dé and their women; because Nuada, after his hand had been stricken off, was disqualified to be king. They said it would be fitter for them (to bestow) the kingdom on Bres, son of Elatha, on their own adopted son; and that giving the kingdom to him would bind the alliance of the Fomorians to them." But Bres maltreats them sorely and they depose him. Thereupon, with the help of his mother, he seeks the aid of the Fomorians. And thus the Battle of Moytura is brought about, in which the Tuatha Dé are victorious.

But perhaps the most notable example of matrilinear kinship in Irish is the bond which unites Cuchulinn to Conchobar. While what seems to be the earliest version of the Cuchulinn (birth) story⁴ represents the great Ulster hero as a rebirth of Lug, the constant feature of his parentage is the name of his mother Dechtire, the sister of Conchobar—his father is variously stated to have been Lug, or an unknown or unnamed god of Faery, or Conchobar himself, or

¹ See "The Second Battle of Moytura" tr. by W. Stokes, *Revue celtique*, XII (1891), 57 ff.; also the comparison D'Arbols makes between Bres and Kronos, *op. cit.*, II chap. ix.

² See D'Arbols, *Cours*, II, 182 (and *passim*): "Cette parenté n'a rien qui doive nous surprendre. Bres, Fomoré, est le gendre de Dagdé, l'un des chefs des Tuatha Dé Danaan. Nous avons déjà vu que Lug, un autre des chefs des Tuatha Dé Danaan, est par sa mère, petit-fils de Balar, un des chefs de Fomoré. De même Brian, Iuchar et Iucharba, trois personnages que des textes appellent les trois dieux du génie au de Dana, *tri déi Dana*, *tri déi Danand*, c'est à dire les trois chefs principaux des Tuatha Dé Danaan, sont fils du Fomoré Bress, et c'est seulement par leur mère Brigit, fille de Dagdé, qu'ils appartiennent aux Tuatha Dé Danaan." Thus Zeus, son of Rhea, mother of the Olympians, combats Kronos, chief of the Titans. Cf. further analogues in *Revue celtique*, XXVIII (1907), 24 ff. Manifestly the principle of succession here is maternal, and Tuatha Dé and Fomor are thought of as exogamous tribes intermarrying.

³ *Op. cit.*, 61.

⁴ Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 140, 143; transl. by Duval, in D'Arbols, *Cours*, V, 22 ff.; in German by Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, 58 ff.; summary by Nutt, *op. cit.* II, chap. xiv; Modern English version in Lady Gregory, *Cuchulinn*.

finally the Ulster chief Sualtam.¹ When Cuchulinn is about to be born, the men of Ulster are gathered about Dechtire. They fall asleep and when they awake behold a little child having features of Conchobar. Finnchoem, Conchobar's other sister, at once loves the child and to her he is intrusted. When they have returned to Emain, Morann speaks this judgment: "It is for Conchobar to help the child to a good name, for he is next of kin to him."²

According to the *Táin bó Cúalnge*³ Cuchulinn was brought up in the house of his mother at Mag Muirthemne. The people there tell him of Conchobar's court at Emain Macha and of the games that go on there among the noble youths. He longs to go to the court but his mother urges him to wait until one of Conchobar's warriors can accompany him: "pour te protéger contre les jeunes garçons ou te venger s'il y a lieu." He persists in his request, and as she tells him where the court is—"le mont Fuad est entre Emain et toi"—he sets forth to find it, taking with him "his hurling stick,⁴ his silver ball and his little dart and spear," with which he shortens his journey.

Arriving on the plain of Emain he finds "three fifties" (*cent cinquante*) of noble youths playing games. He goes among them and with both feet hurls his ball beyond the goal at which the youths are aiming. This enrages them and led by Conchobar's son, Follo-man, they try to kill him. But he defends himself skilfully—"il

¹ See Nutt's discussion, *loc. cit.* The son of a brother and sister is common in mythology. Thus in the Norse Wolsung story Sinfjotli is the son of Sigmund and Signy (cf. G. Holz, *Der Sagenkreis der Nibelunge*, 15—a trait which Wagner employs in the *Walküre*); in Egypt, Horus is the son of Osiris and Isis (*Book of the Dead*, tr. Budge, *passim*); in Greece Zeus springs from Kronos and Rhea (*Hesiod Theog.* 475). Virgil (*Aen.* I, 46) says of Juno: *Jovisque et soror et coniux*; etc. This reaffirms the idea of the Rebirth, and insures the perpetuation of the divine race in a pure form. But even so the son may still take up arms against his father. A survival of this trait is the *Huth Merlin* (I, 147) account of how Arthur becomes the father of Mordred: "Mais quel que elle fust sa suer, [si] n'en savoit elle riens. . . . Moult fist li rois Artus grant jole de la dame et moult le festia et li et ses enfans . . . en chelui terme li gut a li et engendra en li Mordrec, par cui tant grant mal furent fait en la terre de Logres et en tout li monde." Cf. also Malory, I, 64-65. On the parallelism between Mo[r]drred and Mider see Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, 38 ff.

² Lady Gregory, *op. cit.*, 6; Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, 62: "Conchobar stehe es zu, ihn den Erziehern zu übergeben, weil er Dechtires nächster Verwandter ist." In general, it was the Irish custom not to bring up children beneath the paternal roof. Cf. Henderson, *Survivals of belief among the Celts* (Glasgow, 1911), pp. 36 ff.

³ Ed. by Windisch from the *Book of Leinster*; for the synopsis I have made see D'Arbois' translation in the *Revue celtique*, XXVIII (1907), 241 ff.

⁴ "Son bâton courbe de bronze, sa boule d'argent, son javelot, son bâton brûlé au gros bout."

fit des contorsions . . . il ferma un de ses yeux qui ne fut pas plus large que le trou d'une aiguille, il ouvrit l'autre qui devint plus grand qu'une coupe d'hydromel. Il écarta tellement les mâchoires que sa bouche atteignit les oreilles. . . . Du sommet de sa tête jaillit la lumière qui atteste le héros."¹ Then he takes the offensive and overthrows fifty of the youths, five of whom fall between Fergus and Conchobar where they are playing chess. When the young hero comes within reach, Conchobar seizes him by the arm.

When Conchobar taunts him for his "rudeness," the boy replies: "I came as a stranger, and I did not get a stranger's welcome." "Who are you?" says Conchobar. "I am the little Setanta, son of Sualtam and of Dechtire, your sister," says the boy. Conchobar then informs him that there is a "taboo" (*magique défense*) against playing with the royal youths without their permission. So Conchobar obtains the permission for him, and he being the stronger, the royal youths are henceforth placed under his protection.²

Another instance of the same *motif* of a hero seeking the protection of an uncle's court is the Welsh tale of *Kulhwch and Olwen*. This story is probably independent of Crestien's influence, even if we grant Loth's contention³ that some of its characters are "frottés de civilisation française."

Here the young Kulhwch, who is the son of Arthur's mother's sister, Goleuddydd, is left to the care of his nurse, whereas his mother, who dies as the result of his birth, instructs his father not to marry until he sees⁴ a "briar with two blossoms on her grave." At the same time she tells her "preceptor" not to allow anything to grow on it.

¹ From the *Book of the Dun Cow*, 59, col. 1, 42-43, according to D'Arbois.

² Lady Gregory (p. 8) has somewhat rearranged the dialogue to read: "'You did not know then,' said Conchubar, 'that no one can play among the boy troop of Emain unless he gets their leave and their protection.' 'I did not know that, or I would have asked it of them,' he said. 'What is your name and your family?' said Conchubar. 'My name is Setanta, son of Sualtim and Dechtire,' he said. When Conchubar knew that he was his sister's son, he gave him a great welcome, and he bade the boy troop to let him go safe among them."

³ See *Les Mabinogion*, I, 16, 185; contrast I. B. John, *The Mabinogion*, Nutt's *Pop. Series* (1901), p. 3, who says that the tale has "no affinity with any of the Arthurian romances handed down to us in French or German."

⁴ Her words are, Loth, 188: "Ce serait cependant mal à toi de ruiner ton fils; aussi je te demande de ne pas te remarier, que tu n'aies vu une ronce à deux têtes sur ma tombe."

In the seventh year thereafter the "preceptor" having failed in his duty, the king remarries. One day the new wife learns from a "sorceress" that the king has a son. The boy is sent for, and the queen tells him about Olwen, the daughter of Yspaddaden Penkawr, whom Kulhwch accordingly craves. Then his father advises him: "Arthur is thy cousin. Go, therefore unto Arthur, to cut thy hair,¹ and ask this of him as a boon."

So Kulhwch fares forth; in his hands are two spears of silver, a gold-hilted sword is on his thigh, and his horn is of ivory. Before his steed go two white-breasted greyhounds: the one on the left bounds across to the right side, and the one on the right across to the left side. The porter at Arthur's palace tries to dissuade him from entering, for "the knife is in the meat, and drink is in the horn, and there is revelry in Arthur's hall."² But Kulhwch threatens to bring disgrace upon Arthur and to set up three shouts which will deprive women of their offspring and make them barren, unless he is allowed to enter. So the porter obtains permission of Arthur.

Then Kulhwch, contrary to custom,³ does not dismount, but seated on his charger rides into the hall and greets the king. He comes not to eat, he says, but to ask a boon; and if it is not granted, he will carry Arthur's dispraise to the four quarters of the world. Except for certain reservations⁴ Arthur is ready to grant this request. Kulhwch then asks Arthur to "bless his hair." Whereupon Arthur inquires who he is: "For my heart warms unto thee, and I know thou art come of my blood." When Kulhwch reveals his parentage,

¹ This is one of the customs which Van Gennep classes among the *rites de séparation*, prevalent in primitive societies. See *Rites de passages*, 103 ff. Cf. also Loth, I, 190; note; Lady Guest, *Les Mabinogion*, 260; Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 197 note; Keating, *History of Ireland*, II, 173-175.

² See *Conte del Graal*, vss. 2785 ff. for a passage where Arthur will not eat, "tant qu'a ma cort novele viegne." See references to this custom mentioned by Hertz, *Paras.*, 512; also *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 349. Professor Kittredge, "Arthur and Gorlagon" (*Harvard Studies*, VIII), 210, note, calls attention to the Irish parallel in the shorter *Fled Bricrend* (Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, II, I, 174, 188): "It is not fitting to consume this feast of mine without a brave deed of the Ulstermen in return for it."

³ Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 190; Lady Guest, 211; cf. *Conte del Graal*, vs. 882: *E li vasles antre a cheval An la sale*. Consult Kittredge, *op. cit.*, for this commonplace of Arthurian romance.

⁴ One of these, it is interesting to note, is Guenevere (Gwenhwyvar). Compare the abduction motive in the Lancelot story; cf. also the Welsh *Pwyll*, Loth, I, 45 ff., and elsewhere. Zimmer (*Prussian Academy*, 1911, p. 177) equates Guenevere with the Irish *Fíndabair*.

Arthur says: "That is true; thou art my cousin." "Whatsoever boon thou mayest ask, thou shalt receive, be it what it may be that thy tongue shall name."¹

The occurrence of the sister's son in the French romances was mentioned alike by Professor Gummere² and Mr. M. A. Potter.³ Further, and no less striking, material, however, is at hand. For example, Tristan is Mark's sister's son—a fact which may throw light on the moral issue arising when Tristan yields to the charms of Isolt. As Bédier has observed, the Welsh law dealt lightly with the crime of adultery.⁴ Yet Tristan is not, like Modred, a vile seducer—he does not abduct the queen. "Jamais Iseut ne songe à quitter le roi Marc, ni Tristan à la ravir."⁵ "Il ne renie pas l'institution sociale, il la respecte au contraire, il en souffre et seule, cette souffrance confère à ses actes la beauté." But, Bédier continues:⁶ "Il répugne à tout ce que nous savons des contes de Bretagne et de leur transmission de supposer que les Celtes aient possédé jamais un grand roman d'amour sur Tristan." The fatalistic love-theme, however, is by no means foreign to the Celts: witness, for example, the *Fate of the Sons of Usnech*.⁷ And it is not only possible but probable that Tristan's conduct is influenced by the fact that he remains conscious of his intimate kinship to the king. As Bédier himself says: "Il est le neveu et le fils adoptif du roi Marc: il ne conteste pas la loi de la reconnaissance, il la viole, et souffre de la violer."⁸ The Béroul version is too fragmentary to throw much light on the question. Yet in Tristan's repentance the true situation becomes apparent:

"Dex! tant m'amast mes oncles chiers,
Se tant ne fus[s]e a lui mesfet!" (Vss. 2170–2171.)

¹ Loth. *op. cit.*, cites (p. 191) a striking example of the hair-cutting ceremony from the story of Vortigern (cf. Nennius). "Guortigern," he says, "ayant eu un fils de sa fille, la poussa à aller porter l'enfant à Germain, l'évêque, en disant qu'il était son père. Germain dit à l'enfant: 'Pater tibi ero, nec te permittam nisi mihi nosacula cum forcipe et pectine detur, et ad patrem tuum carnalem tibi dare liceat.' L'enfant va droit à Guortigern, et lui dit: 'Pater meus es tu, caput meum tonde, et comam capitis mei pecte.'" See above, p. 21.

² *Op. cit.*

³ *Sohrab and Rustem*, 193 ff.

⁴ *Roman de Tristan*, II, 163: "Le trait le plus singulier de la vie celtique, c'est la fragilité du lien conjugal."

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 165.

⁶ P. 167.

⁷ Windisch, *Ir. Texte* (first series), 67–82; D'Arbois, *Cour de litt. celt.*, V, 236–86; Stokes, *Ir. Texte*, II, 2, 109–78; Dottin, *Revue celt.*, XVI (1895), 426.

⁸ P. 166.

"A Deu, qui est sire du mont,
 Cri je merci, que il me don(s)t
 Itel corage que je lais
 A mon oncle sa feme en pais." (Vss. 2185-2188.)

Tristan s'apuie sur son arc:
 Sovent regrete le roi Marc,
 Son oncle, qui a fait tel tort,
 Sa feme mise a tel descort. (Vss. 2195-2198.)

And in Thomas the trait appears clearly in the birth-story which the Anglo-Norman poet has prefixed¹ to his version. Here Blanche fleur² says to the loyal Foitenant: "Je vous confie l'enfant qui va naître de moi. Si vous avez aimé mon seigneur Rivalin, en souvenir de l'amour qu'il vous portait, prenez-le comme votre propre enfant en votre protection. Gardez cet anneau; mon père l'avait donné au roi Marke; le roi me l'avait donné; s'il le revoit un jour, il reconnaîtra l'enfant né de sa soeur."³

Again, while Layamon insists that what makes Conan, the murderer of Constantine in Geoffrey of Monmouth, such an "accursed" villain⁴ is his being Constantine's sister's son, and that for a like reason Mordred's betrayal of Arthur's confidence has no redeeming quality, we find Wace⁵ already denouncing Mordred's crime in these words:

"Oïés quel honte e quel vilté:
 Ses nies, fils sa soror estoit."

Of course Gawain is the exemplar of the type in its highest sense. Thus it is with clear intent that Crestien makes Cligés the sister's son of Arthur's loyal nephew. And in Wauchier's continuation of the *Conte del Graal*,⁶ Gawain's own off-spring while ignorant of his father's name has the striking appellation of *le neveu son oncle*.⁷ It is, as I said above, the prerogative of the nephew to guard the honor, and therefore to avenge the shame (*honte*) of the uncle, whereas the

¹ Cf. W. Golther, *Tristan u. Isolde*, 145.

Bédier, *op. cit.*, I, 23.

Cf. also pp. 60-61, where Marke recognizes Tristan and knights him: "Il appelle lui Tristan par de douces paroles et l'embrace tendrement comme son fils d'adoption et son neveu. On the moral question in the *Tristan*, see J. Loth, *Revue celt.*, XXX (1909), 270-82.

⁴ Gummere, *op. cit.* 139

⁵ *Brut*, vss. 13,422-13,423.

⁶ Pot., vss. 20,671 ff.

⁷ Mentioned by Potter, *op. cit.*, 49.

latter affords the former his protection and assistance. This mutual obligation is characteristic of Gawain, Perceval,¹ Cligés, Roland, etc. According to Crestien, Yvain's expedition to the fountain is motivated by a similar consideration:²

"Par mon chief," dist mes sire Yvains,
 "Vos estes mes *cosins germains*,
 Si nos devons mout antramer;
 Mes de ce vos puis fol clamer,
 Quant vos le m'avez tant celé.
 Se je vos ai fol apelé,
 Je vos pri qu'il ne vos an poist;
 Car se je puis et il me loist,
 J'irai vostre honte vangier."

Thus, too, Aiols³ is told by his own father of his claims on the Emperor Louis.

"Car vous estes li nies l'empereour,
 Je sai bien a fiance, fiex sa serour."

Probably nowhere, however, do we find the strength of this tie more clearly brought out than in *Partonopeus de Blois*—here the hero is nephew to Clovis:

Un sien neveu avoit li rois,
 Cuens fu d'Angieus et cuens de Blois;
 Fils ert Lucrece sa seror,
 Li rois l'amoit de tel amor
Que nis son fil de sa moillier
*N'avoit il de niënt plus chier.*⁴

Further examples can certainly be found, especially if we go outside our field into that of the epic and ballad. The *Roland* is filled with the spirit of kinship on the maternal side,⁵ and to mention

¹ The trait is well brought out in the Goon Desert (Partinel) episode of *Manessaler*, see Pot. V, vss. 34,935 ff.

² *Yvain*, vss. 581-89.

³ *Aiols*, ed. Foerster, vss. 190-91.

⁴ Ed. Crapelet, I, 19.

⁵ Richard le Vieill e sun nevuld Henri. (Vs. 171.)

Tedbald de Reins e Milun sun cusin. (Vs. 173.)

"Ensurquetut si ai jo vostre soer
 Si'n ai un fils, ja plus bels n'en estoet:

Gardez le bien." (Vss. 294-298.)

"Tenez, bels sire," dist Rollanz à sun uncle,
 "De trestuz reis vus present les curunes." (Vss. 387-389.)

one further striking instance,¹ Raoul de Cambrai is the sister's son of Louis. But the above examples are sufficient to show what a hold the matrilinear descent had on the minds of men in the twelfth century, at least as a matter of tradition. We have seen, too, that the tribal organization it represents must once have been known to the Goedelic (and Brythonic) Celts, for survivals of the system appear in their laws and in the main body of their heroic legend. As has been previously shown,² it is with this legend that the *Conte del Graal* has evident points of contact.

IV

Reverting to the poem proper, it is noteworthy that, with the possible exception of the Gawain section, the entire work seems to bear the imprint of the primitive, tribal life. The advances that Blanchefleur makes to Perceval, which Nutt sought to explain in the light of *Minnedienst*,³ are referable rather to a cruder state of society in which the wooing quite naturally fell to the part of woman. As Nutt himself says: "In the great tragic tale of ancient Ireland, . . . Deirdre takes fate into her own hands, and woos

"L'autre meitiet avrat Rollanz ses niés." (Vs. 473.)
 E l'Algalifes sis uncles e sis fedelitz. (Vs. 505.)
 As porz d'Espaigne ad laisset sun nevuld.
 Pitiet l'en prent, ne poet muer n'en plurt. (Vss. 824-825.)

Marsile also has a nephew:

"Bels sire reis, jo vus ai seroit tant
 Si'n ai out e peines e ahans." (Vss. 863-864.)
 Co est Gualtiers ki cunquist Maëlgut,
 Li niés Droûn, à l'vieill e à l'canut. (Vss. 2047-2048.)
 "Rollanz mis niés ho cest jur nus defalt." (Vs. 2107.)
 "Se j'ai parenz, nen i ad nul si prud." (Vs. 2905.)

The Oxford text does not mention the name of Roland's mother. But it probably was Gisle or Gille (cf. G. Paris, *Histoire poétique*, 407). The pseudo-Turpin calls her Berte, and the same name occurs in Philippe Mousket (vss. 2706 ff.):

S'ot Charles une autre sœur
 Bertain: cele prist a seigneur
 Milan d'Angiers, s'en ot Rollant.

For an "Enfance" story, in which the boy Roland seizes the goblet of Charles, cf. the Venice MS XIII and the *Real di Francia* (G. Paris, *op. cit.*, 409 ff.). In certain versions, notably the *Karlamagnus-Saga* (I, 36), Roland is the son of Charles and the latter's sister Gille. Cf. above p. 18, for other examples of this motif. On the episode itself, see G. Paris, *op. cit.*, chap. viii. In Spanish literature, Bernardo del Carpio was considered a sister's son of Charlemagne, later of Alfonso II; see Baist, *Gröber's Grundr.*, II, 2, 392.

¹ *Garin le Lohereain*, tr. Paulin Paris, p. 333.

² Cf. Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen* (1890), XII, 519 ff.; *Keltische Studien*, Berlin, 1884, II, 200; also articles cited above.

³ *Studies on the Legend of the H. Grail*, 228 ff.

Noisi with outspoken passionate frankness." Doubtless the situation is romantic, and that may account for its late persistence, but the Fands, Viviens, and Orgueilleuses—to some extent—have counterparts among primitive peoples today.¹ The manner in which Lancelot becomes the father of Galaad in the *Prose Lancelot* cycle is a curious survival of this time-old custom.² Moreover, the matriarchal idea is typical of the grail romances. "Das ist das Wesentliche," says Brugger,³ "das den *Joseph* (und den *Didot-Perceval*) isoliert: dass der Gralheld hier väterlichseits, in allen andern Versionen mütterlichseits mit dem Gralhüter verwandt ist." The *Syr Percyvèle*, which lacks the grail adventure, retains this arrangement. Here the hero's mother (Acheflour) is the sister of King Arthur, and not of the Grail King. A priori this appears to be a substitution, since Arthur's traditional nephews are of course Gawain⁴ and Mordred, and the names in *Syr Percyvèle* are French and not Welsh. The very instructions the hero receives from time to time, such as:⁵ (1) to respect the advice of elders; (2) to succor women in distress; (3) to greet cordially those he meets; (4) to refrain from useless speech; though probably determined as to form by the mediaeval school learning and by their connection with chivalry (to which the poem alludes⁶), are characteristic of the tribal life as observed elsewhere. Thus Howitt affirms that among the southeastern Australians, before the conclusion of the initiation ceremonies (Kuringal), the

¹ "The practice," says Hartland, "of offering the wife or other female dependent to a guest for temporary companionship" is very widespread among various American tribes (*op. cit.*, II, 229). Cf. also Karl Schmidt, *Jus Primae Noctis*, Freiburg, 1881, *passim*. On women themselves making the advances, see Hartland, *op. cit.*, II, 129 ff., also the examples gathered by Potter, *op. cit.*, 172 ff., and Zimmer, "Der kulturhistorische Hintergrund in der altirischen Heldensage," *Prussian Academy*, 1911, pp. 175 ff. In "Raoul de Cambrai" Bernier is wooed by Gerin's daughter (vs. 5696):

"Pren moi a feme, frans chevaliers eslis:
Si demorra nostre guere à toz dis."

See Herts, *Parz.*, 502, on the *Tobiasnächte* in *Parz.*, § 203.

² Paulin Paris, *Romans d. l. table ronde*, V, 306 ff. ³ *ZfS.*, XXXVI (1910), 18.

⁴ Among other examples that can be cited, Crestien's *Erec* contains a clear instance of the reliance Arthur placed on Gawain:

"Biaus niés Gauvains! conseiliez m'an
Sauve m' enor et ma droiture!
Car je n'ai de la noise cure." (Vss. 308-310.)

A recent attempt to prove the primitive character of the *Syr Percyvèle* has been made by R. H. Griffith, *Sir Perceval of Galles* (University of Chicago diss.), 1911.

⁵ See vss. 510, 1610, 6360 ff.

⁶ Vs. 1612. The instructions given by Gornemanz, vss. 1610 ff., should be compared with those found in the *Ordene de Chevalerie*, printed by Méon, *Fab.*, I, 59 ff.

youth is not invested with the man's belt until he has been told: (1) to heed the advice of the old men; (2) to share the fruits of the chase with others; (3) not to interfere with the women of the tribe; (4) not to injure his kindred by means of evil magic.¹ "The intention of the ceremonies," continues Howitt, "is evidently to make the youths of the tribe worthy members of the community, according to their lights. . . . Before the novice is permitted to take his place in the community, marry, and join in its councils, he must possess those qualifications which will enable him to act for the common welfare." Gillen and Spencer writing² of the central Australians observe that in the initiations of the natives along the Finke River there is fastened around the initiate's waist a large *uliara*, "that is, the human hair girdle worn by the men, the girdle being provided by an *Oknia* of the boy." Previously an *Unkulla* man had twined round the youth's hair "strands of fur string, until it looked as if his head were enclosed in a tight-fitting skull cap." The *Unkulla* man is "the brother of the boy's mother," and the fastener of the girdle is the latter's son. During the ceremonies which follow the boy is told that he must be obedient, must never reveal any of the tribal secrets, must not speak unless spoken to. The final rites are "a long series of ceremonies concerned with the totems, and terminating with what may be described as ordeals by fire." The object of the ceremony as a whole is, "firstly, to bring the young men under the control of the old men . . . ; secondly, to teach them habits of self-restraint and hardihood; and thirdly, to show the younger men who have arrived at mature age, the sacred secrets of the tribe which are concerned with the *Churinga*³ and the totems with which they are associated." "Every Australian native," they affirm, "so far as is known, has in the normal condition of the tribe to pass through certain ceremonies of initiation before he is admitted to the secrets of the tribe, and is regarded as a fully developed member of it." This shows, especially when taken together with my previous remarks on the Eleusinia,⁴ what a close connection there is between Perceval's entire career and the ceremony at the Grail Castle, if the latter is,

¹ *Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (Macmillan, 1904), pp. 231 ff.

² *Native Tribes of Central Australia* (Macmillan, 1901), pp. 210-86; 347-73.

³ Sacred emblems.

⁴ *Op. cit.*

as I believe, an initiation. Obviously Nutt was correct in affirming that the questing initiate was always a part of the grail story: the Perceval and the grail stories are essentially one, and any attempt to separate them is, I believe, a mistake. Not that the initiate need always have been called Perceval: Crestien may well have given him the name, which he first mentions in *Erec* (vs. 1526)—*et Percevaus li Galois*. But even that is conjectural.¹ The essential fact, however, is that the youth's training or education is of a piece with the grail adventure, which is, as we have seen, its culminating point.² And while other works outside the Arthurian pale, and within it, deal with the sister's son as a recognized personage, none of them treats, as does Crestien's work, his particular problem, *per se*, as characteristic of tribal life.

This does not signify that Crestien was aware of the fundamental import of the story he was "setting to rhyme."³ He may or may not have been. Probably he grasped the "mystery" as little as we should today. Being a problem in conduct, the story would appeal at once to his scholastic temper. But let us not be misled into thinking that he was primarily bent on being consistent and clear. His *Erec* and *Charrete* show that he was not. As Baist says: "Er liebt es, seine Wunder in hellster Beleuchtung hervortreten, aber dann verdämmern zu lassen." We cannot quarrel with him for doing so—the grammarians afforded him ample justification for respecting tradition, even when it was not understood—and did not Marie de France⁴ on the basis of Priscian extol the ancients for being obscure?

Es livres que jadis faiseient
assez oscurement diseient
par cels ki a venir esteient
e ki aprendre les deveient
que peüssent gloser la letre
e de lur sen le surplus metre.

¹ See below, p. 31.

² Baist (*Parsival u. der Gral*), 19, expresses a somewhat similar view, though without mentioning the initiatory character of the grail ceremony, when he says: "Immerhin würde mit der Natur dieser Reste sich die Annahme besonders gut vertragen, dass in der Vorlage die Weisheitslehren in viel engerer Beziehung zur Handlung standen als bei Chrestien. Dann aber wird es möglich, dass der Gral in seiner ersten Gestalt ohne jede wunderbare Eigenschaft war und nur die Regel exemplifizieren half, dass unter Umständen auch Reden Gold sei."

³ Vs. 63: A rimoiier le meillor conte.

⁴ *Lais*, ed. Warnke, *Prol.*, vss. 11 ff.; the passage is a misconstruction of Priscian, *Insl.* (beginning).

In short, Crestien interpreted his material as far as he was able; when unable, he reproduced it without sacrificing its traditional features.

The famous grail-question (*Cui l'an an sert?* or *Quel riche home l'an an serroit?*) is, I believe, such a feature. The *riche home* is the Grail King; besides if asked, the question will heal the suffering Fisher King, and when not asked, it actually brings harm to the knights and ladies of Arthur's court.¹ I thus explained its function² as ritualistic, and the conclusions reached in the present study bear out this interpretation. To argue, as Heinzel does,³ that this aspect of the "question" is secondary, seems to me to ignore the *raison d'être* of the whole story. Yet those who derive the grail legend from the Byzantine Mass must resort to some such reasoning. Admitting that there is danger here for considerable mutual misunderstanding and that it behooves us to keep an open mind on such intricate matters, nevertheless we should remember that the grail legend tends toward, and not away from, Christianity. The *later* not the earlier versions are the most Christian. Says Martin:⁴ "Stufenweise geht die Verchristlichung weiter; immer stärker tritt der mystisch-asketische Zug hervor, bis er zuletzt in der törichten Vorstellung gipfelt, dass nicht Perceval, der, wenn auch Mensch, doch vermählt war, sondern der völlig jungfräuliche Galaad den Gralzauber löst und zwar nachdem er den Gral hat suchen müssen, obschon er selbst im Hause des Grals aufgewachsen ist." Furthermore, why should Robert, whose orthodoxy is not his strongest point, nevertheless distinguish the grail ceremony from the Christian mass? "Nicht das Messopfer," says Heinzel,⁵ "aber etwas dem Messopfer Aehnliches stellt sich der Dichter vor." Or was Robert honestly actuated by the desire to conform to Roman usage by rejecting any contamination from the East? Certainly, the Byzantine theory must be at a loss to explain that Robert himself does not so much as mention the bleeding lance. Personally I cannot conceive how then the Byzantine material could be the immediate basis of the grail romances in the twelfth century. What may have happened in Ireland at an earlier date is another question. But even so, ritualism is so general among primitive societies, that the assump-

¹ See, above, p. 5.

² See *Elliott-Studies*, 49.

³ *Op. cit.*, 135.

⁴ *Parzival u. Titarel*, II, L.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 87.

tion of eastern borrowings on the part of the Celts does not seem to me materially to alter our discussion.² On the other hand, assuming as we do that Robert is mainly responsible for the Christianization of the grail material, it requires no argument to see that having removed the grail from its primitive setting, and explained it *ex post facto* on a Christian basis, in the manner somewhat of the *enfances* of an epic hero, he naturally missed the central motive of the original grail story, represented in the tribal organization.

If then the "question" is primarily ritualistic, as a part of a pagan ceremonial, and probably involved an explanation of the rite in which the initiate had shared (the so-called "secrets" of the grail), it was instrumental also in establishing the kinship, the "blood-tie," so to speak, which bound the neophyte to the head of the clan, and made him a recognized member of the social group. To use Heinzel's words it was "eine Erkennungsfrage," though we do not share Heinzel's view that it was accidental (*zufällig*). A similar procedure is found in stories of the father-and-son combat type. In *Sohrab and Rustem*, the son says to his father: "One question I desire to ask you, and do you answer that truthfully. Tell me frankly, what is your birth?" Likewise, Hildebrand³ asks his son "wer sein vater waere in der menschen volke, 'oder welches geschlechtes kind du seist.'" Again, we found Conchobar saying to the youthful Cuchulinn: "What is your name and your family?" In this way the question would naturally serve as a method of identification, as a recognition-formula. This has long been observed by scholars. Of all Arthurian stories, that of the grail depends most on the principle of adequate identification. How will the hero of destiny make his presence known? Why, by a question he will ask. Or, if for some reason, this is not sufficient, by a special seat which he will occupy. Thus we get the *Siege Perilous*, so similar, as I have pointed out,³ to the Irish Lia Fáil or Stone of Destiny, which like the lance and the sword of Lug, and the Caldron of Dagda, was one of the "four jewels" of

¹ On syncretism, frequently overlooked by the reviewers, see my "Fisher King." See the view expressed by Klitredge, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII: "The mere fact that a story is oriental in its ultimate origin is no reason for refusing to regard it as Celtic if it once made its home among the Celts and came from them, charged with their peculiar genius, to fructify the literature of France and of the world."

² See *Das Hildebrandslied*, ed. Al. Vollmer and K. Hofmann, 11.

³ *Elliott-Studies*, 42.

the Tuatha Dé Danaan, and therefore the most accessible prototype for a poet dealing with the grail. In at least one of the grail romances, however, the hero establishes his identity by "opening" a tomb, the top of which rises to his touch. This happens in the *Perlesvaus*,¹ and it is known thereby that Perceval is the son of the *Veve Dame* and also *li miaudres chevaliers del monde*.

Now, the Cymric hearth was the symbol of family ownership and inheritance.

The right of the son on succession was to uncover the hearth of his father or ancestor. The legal term for the recovery by an ejected son of his patrimony was *dadenhudd*, or the uncovering again of the parental hearth. The term was a graphic one. The fire-back-stone, set up against the central pillar of the hut supporting the roof (*pentansaen* = head-fire-stone), was a memorial or witness of land and homestead (*tir a thyle*), because it bore the mark of the kindred upon it. And the covering and uncovering of the fire had a picturesque significance.²

It took four generations of occupancy to establish a claim to a Welsh family hearth, which thus became, "in a very literal sense, the focus of the rights of the kindred."³ If, then, we consider that in Crestien, where the tribal concept is strongest, the grail ceremony takes place about the central fireplace of the Grail Castle, and that the word which Crestien uses, *cheminal*, probably points to a primitive hearthstone⁴ (Wolfram's *fierrame* of marble), the Welsh custom is doubly interesting, especially as a ceremonial fire is not a phenomenon confined to the Welsh. Still, Crestien does not give us the slightest inkling that the hearth at the Grail Castle bore the mark of the kindred. At the same time, it is after his visit to the Grail Castle that Perceval mysteriously divines his real name,⁵ and our evidence has shown that ultimately the grail ceremony was the means of instating him in his inheritance. For want of further material we must leave the problem at this point without coming to a fixed conclusion.⁶

¹ Pot., I, 179.

² Seebohm, *op. cit.*, 82.

³ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁴ *Elliott-Studies*, I, 30 ff.

⁵ See above, p. 28.

⁶ The problem indicated here might repay further investigation. Note, above all, what Van Gennep has to say on the "rites de dénomination" in his *Rites de passages*, pp. 88 ff.; also chap. vi on the "rites d'initiation," where a summary is made of the various initiations known up to 1909—a chapter which corroborates our conclusions on the initiatory character of the grail material. On names the following points may be noted in addition:

In the Australian Kuringal ceremonies (cf. Howitt, *op. cit.*, 526-641) among the things which the novice learns from his Kabos is the *Budjan* or totem name. "These

But the material adduced has, I hope, thrown some light on the means by which the tribal hero may have won official recognition.

And now, in conclusion, the name *πατήρ* given to the tribal god in the ancient mysteries seems to me paralleled by the *riche home* (the Grail King; according to Nutt, the Mikado of the myth), the [Celtic] tribal ancestor, the religious and juridical head of the clan, the maternal uncle of the sister's son. And, taken all in all, does not the *Conte del Graal*, even after the adaptation it underwent to meet the demands of twelfth-century society, still furnish an example, more primitive than anything handed down elsewhere in Arthurian literature, of the tribal myth in the sense in which Van Gennep¹ has recently defined that dubious word?

Si [une] . . . histoire est accompagnée d'une pantomime représentant les personnages et les phases successives du thème; si les acteurs qui représentent les héros sont revêtus d'une qualité sacrée ou si ce sont des magiciens . . . si certains personnages se retrouvent dans d'autres récits ou cérémonies où l'on explique la formation du monde, le renouveau de la végétation, les origines de la tribu; si toute cette représentation n'a lieu qu'à un moment solennel de la journée, n'a pour spectateurs que des hommes adultes et initiés aux mystères, et qui se sont soumis d'abord à des rites de purification, qui enfin seraient punis de mort s'il racontaient aux femmes, aux enfants et aux étrangers ce qu'ils ont vu—dans ce cas, l'histoire considérée n'est plus un simple conte: c'est une partie essentielle du système religieux, un drame sacré, un mythe.

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names are not much used, and a person does not know much of the *Budjans* of others. It is the personal name which is used, not the *Budjan*. The personal name is a tribal one given to an individual in childhood, and the use of the totem name is avoided, lest an enemy might get hold of it and do him an injury by evil magic." In some tribes it is the totem name which is used and the other which is kept secret. Mr. Potter (*op. cit.*, 211), adduces the practice of certain Indians of calling each other brother, sister, father, etc., in order to avoid any danger of allowing others to know what their real name is. Cuchullinn is named after Culann's hound, and therefore cannot eat the flesh of his namesake (cf. Stokes, *Revue celtique*, III [1882], 176); and Gwalchmei (the French Gawain) according to Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, 168, resolves itself into *Gwalch-mei*, "the Hawk of the month of May." Gawain is always ready to tell his name (see *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 37 ff.); in the *Conte del Graal* (vss. 5583 ff.) he says:

"Sire Gauvains sui apelez
Onques mes nons ne fu celez
An leu ou il me fust requis,
N'onques ancores ne le dis
S'aincois demandez ne me fu."

On naming after an ancestor or divining names, see Hartland, *op. cit.*, I, 211 ff.

¹ *La formation des légendes* (Paris, 1910), pp. 306-307.

SOME SOURCES OF THE SEVENTH BOOK OF GOWER'S
CONFESSIO AMANTIS

John Gower has not given much of a clue to the source of the seventh book of his *Confessio Amantis*, of which the subject may be called "The Education of Alexander." At the outset he makes the general statement:

Forthi, my sone, unto thin Ere,
Though it be noght in the registre
Of Venus, yit of that Calistre
And Aristotle whylom write
To Alisandre, thou schalt wite. (18-23.)¹

The mention of Callisthenes as an authority is a gratuitous one, suggested, perhaps, by the statement in *Li Tresors* of Brunetto Latini that Alexander "avoit por ses maistres Aristote et Calistere"² a statement of which Gower had already made use:

And Alisandre his name is hote,
To whom Calistre and Aristote
To techen him Philosophie
Entenden and Astronomie. (VI, 2273-76.)

He cannot be referring to the romance of Alexander, of which the authorship is attributed to Callisthenes by two or three manuscripts of the Greek original,³ as this attribution is not found in either of the versions of that work, the *De praeliis* of Leo, or the *Roman de toute chevalerie* of Eustache de Kent, of both of which he made use in the preceding book.⁴ Toward the end of the seventh book Gower

¹ Ed. Macaulay.

² Ed. Chabaille, 37. I adopt the reading of seven manuscripts which contain this variant of "Callistenes," a reading confirmed by *Il Tesoro de B. L. Versificato*: "Aristotile, Varone e Calistro" (D'Ancona, *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, stor. e filol.*, Ser. IV, Vol. IV, 136). In the earliest form of the version of the *De praeliis* Alexander's teachers are not named (*Die Vita Alexandri Magni des Archipresbyter Leo*, ed. G. Landgraf, Progr. Schweinfurt [1885], 39, n. 16), but they are added in the later form "didicerat enim pleniter liberales artes ab Aristotele et Callistene" (ed. Zingerle, 140, 19). W. Hertz has noted the older classical tradition of Callisthenes as a teacher of Alexander (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 6, n. 1).

³ P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française*, I, 3-4, 18.

⁴ *Works of Gower*, III, 519-21.

acknowledges the subsidiary sources he has used with his prime authority, Aristotle:

Mi Sone, as we tofore spieke
In schrifte, so as thou me seidest,
And for thin ese, as thou me preidest
Thi love throghes forto lisse,
That I thee wolde telle and wisse
The forme of Aristotles lore,
I have it seid, and somdiel more
Of othre ensamples, to assaie,
If I thi peines myhte allaie
Thurgh eny thing that I can seie. (5398-5407.)

Finally in the Latin account of his works which Gower gives at the end of the *Confessio Amantis*, the subject of that book is noted as one of the chief themes of the poem, and its chief authority is named:

Tractat eciam secundum Aristotilem super hiis quibus rex Alexander tam in sui regimen quam aliter eius disciplina edoctus fuit.¹

Students of Gower have generally accepted his statement in regard to his source, and have undertaken to point out the specific works to which he was indebted for his conception of Aristotelian philosophy. Warton in his *History of English Poetry* after speaking of the first part of the book continues:² "Our author closes this course of the Aristotelic philosophy with a system of politics, not taken from Aristotle's genuine treatise on that subject, but from the first chapter of a spurious compilation entitled, *Secretum Secretorum Aristotelis*. . . . It might also be proved that Gower, through this detail of the sciences, copied in many other articles the *Secretum Secretorum*. . . . It is evident that he copied from this work the doctrine of the three chemical stones³ mentioned above."⁴ Although Warton cites other incidents from the *Secretum*—those of the stentorian horn of Alexander, and of the poison-maiden⁵—and speaks of Lydgate's and Hoccleve's versions,⁶ how little he knew the text of the original is shown by the way he refers to the story of the Jew and the Pagan, which Gower unquestionably took from it: "But I believe Gower's

¹ *Works of Gower*, III, 480.

² Ed. 1840, II, 230.

³ *C.A.*, IV, 2531 ff.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 228.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 231; I, cxlv. and n. y.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 231; 282, n. h; 259.

apology¹ must be that he took this narrative from some Christian legend, which was feigned, for a religious purpose at the expense of all probability and propriety."² Again in his analysis of the *Gesta Romanorum* he states of chap. xxxiv, "Aristotle's Seven Rules to His Pupils": "This, I think, is from the *Secretum Secretorum*."³

Pauli in his Introductory Essay to his edition of the *Confessio Amantis* has done nothing but misinterpret Warton's statement, in making a more general statement about the source:⁴ "The seventh book contains an exposition of a great portion of Aristotle's philosophy, chiefly his physics, ethics, and metaphysics, not taken from the original, but very likely borrowed from the pseudo-Aristotelian compendium, known under the name of the *Secretum Secretorum*." Henry Morley in his *English Writers*⁵ in an analysis of the *Confessio Amantis* considered the seventh book as "chiefly a digest from the *Secretorum*, . . . which is here popularized in easy verse by Gower as an outline of what Alexander learnt from Aristotle," and gives an analysis of Gower's version as if it were that of his Latin source. ten Brink in his *Geschichte der englischen Literatur*⁶ found in the seventh book an exposition of the "aristotelisch-arabische Philosophie" which destroyed the unity of the plan of the poem, and considered its chief source the *Secretum*.

The statements of Jusserand⁷ that "after the deadly sins the mists and marvels of the *Secretum Secretorum* fill the scene"; of Courthope⁸ that "the seventh book is occupied with an abstract of the *Secretum Secretorum*; and of G. E. and W. H. Hadow⁹ who speak of the seventh book as "giving a rhymed digest of the political treatise called *Secretum Secretorum*" show how the combined authority of Pauli and Morley and ten Brink has been responsible for a statement which has become an integral part of the history of English literature.

Yet even as early as 1869 Knust,¹⁰ in commenting on the statements of Warton and Morley, had noted that Gower had given a different

¹ I.e., for the anachronism of the story.

² *Op. cit.*, II, 240.

³ *Ibid.*, I, clli.

⁴ I (1857), xxxiv.

⁵ Vol. II, Part I (1867), 128-29.

⁶ II, 139-40 (1893).

⁷ *A Literary History of the English People* (1895), I, 372.

⁸ *History of English Poetry* (1895), 312.

⁹ *The Oxford Treasury of English Literature* (1906), I, 131. Cf. T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 392; W. Hertz, *op. cit.*, 160, n. 10.

¹⁰ *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, X, 165.

ending to the story of the Jew and the Pagan than that found in the Latin work, and that the other stories illustrative of the duties of a king were taken from elsewhere. But it was not until 1901 that Macaulay in his notes on the seventh book did the meritorious service of stating in no uncertain terms "that the statement of Pauli and others . . . is absolutely unfounded." The *Secretum* "is not in any sense an exposition of the Aristotelian philosophy; . . . Gower is indebted to it only in a slight degree, and principally in two places, VII, 2014-57, the discussion of Liberality in a king, and 3205-3360*, the tale of the Jew and the Pagan." Macaulay¹ made an important contribution to the elucidation of the seventh book, by showing the great indebtedness of Gower for both his classification of the sciences, and for many of his statements to the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini. There is no doubt but that Macaulay has rightly stated the case in reference to the indebtedness of Gower to the Latin original of the *Secretum Secretorum*, but that at the same time Gower was indebted to a French version of this work for the material of some of his "ensamples," and for the suggestion of some others, I hope to show in this study.

The French version to which I refer, is the work of Jofroi de Watreford, assisted in some way by Servale Copale, made in the second half of the thirteenth century. This work of which there is only one manuscript known—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 1822—has not been published.² Fortunately for the purpose of showing the source of certain of the "ensamples" this lack is supplied by an English translation of this French work, made in the English Pale of Ireland in 1422 by one James Yonge.³ A comparison of a passage of the original French with this English translation and Gower's version will show how closely Yonge kept to his French text, in translating those parts of which he made use in his own revision of the work, and how Gower treated his original, and

¹ *Op. cit.*, III, 522; cf. 527-28. Yet Gaster, writing seven years later on the Hebrew translation of the *Secretum*, calmly states: "One of the books in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* is but a rhymed transcript of part of this *Secretum*" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1908], 1068).

² For a bibliography of the work done on Jofroi cf. *Romanic Review*, I, 259 ff.

³ Three press versions of the "*Secretum Secretorum*," ed. R. Steele, 1898 ("Publications of the Early English Text Society," Extra Series, LXXIV), pp. 119-248. I shall refer to this work as *T.P.V.*

why it is not necessary to cite from the French version, instead of the more accessible English translation:

Car, si com valoire conte, li rois
cambises trouva [qu'] uns des juges qu'il
avoit assis pour jugier le peuple, donna
un fauz jugement. por quoi comanda
qu'il fust eschorcies, si fist couvrir de sa
pel le siege ou seoir soloit quant juge-
ment rendi et comanda que ses filz, qui
juges apres lui [fu], en meisme le siege
jugast. Si que li remembrast de la
painne son pere sor qui pel il seoit.
(MS B.N. f. fr. 1322, fol. 94, recto 1.)

For as valery Saythe, A kynge that
Cambises was callid founde that oone
of his Iuges, that he hadde y-sette to
Iuge his Pepill, yave a fals Sentence,
wherefor this kynge comandid that he
were y-hilled, and did couere whyth
his Skynne the Seete therin as he was
woned to sitte whan that he was Iuge.
And commandid that his Sonne, that
Iuge was aftyr hym in the Same Cete
shulde Sitte and deme, that he mynde
haue sholde of the Payne of his fadyr
wpon whos skyne he Sate. (S.S., 167,
ll. 23-31.)

In other place also I rede,
Wher that a jugge his oghne dede
Ne wol noght venge of lawe broke,
The king it hath himselven wroke.
The grete king which Cambises
Was hote, a jugge laweles
He fond, and into remembrance
He dede upon him such vengeance:
Out of his skyn he was beflain
Al quyk, and on that wise slain,
So that his skyn was schape al meete,
And nayled on the same seete
Wher that his Sone scholde sitte.
Avis him, if he wolde flitte
The lawe for the coveitise
Ther sih he redi his juise.
(C.A., VII, 2889-2904.)

Although Gower shows elsewhere in his works that he was acquainted with Valerius Maximus,¹ it is evident that he is not indebted here to that writer's scanty notice:

Jam Cambyses inusitate seueritatis, qui mali cuiusdam iudicis e corpore pellem detractam sellae intendi in eaque filium eius iudicaturum considerare iussit. Ceterum et rex et barbarus atroci ac noua poena iudicis ne quis postea corrumpi iudex posset prouidit.²

¹ *Mirour de l'homme*, 18302, 19981; C.A., VII, 3181; see below pp. 336, 337. On the citation of Valerius at second hand in mediaeval literature cf. Choleuius, *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen*, I, 280; Tolscher, *Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad., Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, XCII, 398.

² VI, 3, Ext. 3.

For the mere form of the story he might be indebted to the version of Helinand,¹ which is found in a number of collection of exempla,² and is distinguished from another version in which the name of the king is not mentioned,³ but as one of several borrowings from the French *Secretum*, it is not by a mere coincidence that the same story is told in both works as an example of Justice.

For another of his "ensamples" Gower has followed his French original closely, if he adopts his common procedure, in rearranging the episodes:

To se this olde ensamplerie,
That whilom was no flaterie
Toward the Princes wel I finde;
Wherof so as it comth to mynde,
Mi Sone, a tale unto thin Ere,
Whil that the worthi princes were
At Rome, I thanke forto tellen.
For whan the chances so befellen
That eny Emperour as tho
Victoire hadde upon his fo,
And so forth cam to Rome ayein,
Of treble honour he was certain,
Wherof that he was magnified.
The ferste, as it is specefied,
Was, when he cam at thilke tyde,
The Charr in which he scholde ryde

Therfor, as seynte Ierome⁴ vs tellyth,
in olde tymes whan the Pryncis of
Rome retorned fro bataillis there as
thay had victorie, the romanes makid
thre maneres of honoures. The fryste
was that al the pepill yede agaynes
the Prynce with grete gladnys; the
ije was that the Prysoneris and hos-
tagis that were takyn in the bataille
sholde follow the Pryncis chare on har
fete, thare handis bounde be-hynde
har backys; The iije was that the
Prynce shold be clothid in Iubiter
thare godis cote, sittynge in a chare
that iiij whyte horsyn drewe. (S.S.,
154, 19-27.)

¹ As cited by Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Doctr.*, IV, 66; *Spec. Hist.*, III, 18.

² R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 378; *An Alphabet of Tales*, ed. Banks, 407.

³ E.g., *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oosterley, 29; ed. Dick, 64; *Violier des hist. rom.*, 83. On other versions cf. Oosterley, 717; P. Toldo, *Herrigs Archiv*, CXVII, 301; *Girart de Rossillion*, ed. Mignard, 2931 ff.; Hoccleve, *Regement of Princes*, ed. Furnivall, 2675 ff.; J. A. Herbert, *Cat. of Romances*, III, 232, 244, 417. Yet Hoccleve speaks of his general indebtedness to "the Chese moralized" of Jacobus de Cessola (2108 ff.), who cites Helinand as his authority (Caxton's *Game and Play of the Chesse*, ed. Axon, 39).
⁴ Lydgate has misunderstood the story wherever he found it (*Minor Poems*, Percy Society, 210).

⁵ Jerome has only the statement in one of his letters: "in similitudinem triumphantium quibus in curru retro comes adhaerebat per singulas acclamationes civium, dicens: Hominem te esse memento" (*Ep.*, XXXIX; Migne, *Patrol.*, XXII, 468). Itself a reminiscence of Tertullian (*Apol.*, cap. xxxiii; Migne, I, 511). The single phrase from Jerome, "Hominem te esse memento," on account of which the whole story is attributed to him, is not found in the version of the *Tractatus de diversis historiis Romanorum et quibusdam aliis*, cap. x (ed. S. Herzstein, 1893)—where the authority cited, "priulnius," is evidently "Hieronymus" as in the cited passage, in a version found in an anonymous preachers' manual (Herbert, *op. cit.*, 175), and in Holkot's *Moralitates* (*Gesta Rom.*, p. 249)—nor in *Dialogus creaturarum*, cap. lx, where the account is attributed to Cicero. In his sixth voyage Sindbad comes to a kingdom where a slave rides on the monarch's chariot to remind him of the world's vanity. Burton attributes the passage to a classical source (1001 Nights, VI, 67), but compare the references cited by Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, VII, 26, n. 1.

Foure whyte Stiedes scholden drawe;
 Of Jupiter be thilke lawe
 The Cote he scholde were also;
 Hise prisoners ek scholden go
 Endlong the Charr on eyther hond,
 And alle the nobles of the lond
 Tofore and after with him come
 Ridende and broghten him to Rome,
 In thonk of his chivalerie
 And for non other flaterie.
 And that was schewed forth withal,
 Wher he sat in his Charr real,
 Beside him was a Ribald set,
 Which hadde hise words so beset,
 To themperour in al his gloire
 He seide, 'Tak into memoire,
 For al this pompe and al this pride
 Let no justice gon aside,
 Bot know thiself, what so befall.
 For men sen ofte time falle
 Thing which men wende siker stonde,
 Thogh thou victoire have nou on honde
 Fortune mai noght stonde alway;
 The whiel perchance an other day
 Mai torne, and thou myht overthrowe:
 Ther lasteth nothing bot a throwe'.
 With these wordes and with mo
 This Ribald, which sat with him tho,
 To Themperour his tale tolde:
 And overmor what ever he wolde,
 Or were it evel or were it good,
 So plainly as the trouthe stod,
 He spareth noght, bot spekh it oute;
 And so myhte every man aboute
 The day of that solempnete
 His tale telle als wel as he
 To Themperour al openly.
 And al was this the cause why;
 That whil he stod in that noblesse,
 He scholde his vanite represse
 With suche wordes as he herde.
 (2355-2411.)

But for-als-moche as the romanys
 wolde that the Prynce for his honoure
 hym-Sylfe sholde not foryete, thre
 dyshonoures in the same day he most
 Suffyre. The fryste was that there **as**
 the Prynce sate in his Chare, a bond-
 man and of fowle condycion to sig-
 nifie that euery man of the Pepill
 sholde haue hope to come to glorie of
 a Prynce or of an empyre, by prosse
 and vasselage. The ij^{de} Dishonoure
 was that the bonde-man that wyth the
 Prynce Sate buffetis and Strokis hym
 yave Saynge in gru, *Notiscletis*, that
 is to Say, haue knowyng of thy-
 Selfe, and be not Prute of so hey
 vyrchipp; mynde thow how thow arte
 dedly. The thyrd dyshonoure was,
 that euery man myght wyth-oute
 Payne or reproue and myssayne the
 Prynce for that Iorney. (*S.S.*, 154,
 27-155, 2.)

In the marginal analysis for which Gower himself seems respon-
 sible, we find the supposedly Greek word "Notheos" with its gloss,
 "Hoc est nosce teipsum." In only one Latin version of this story
 does there appear an attempt to keep the Greek words (*γνώθι*

σεαυτον),¹ but Gower has evidently taken his Latin translation from such a source, as well as his reference to the "Emperour."²

Macaulay is not correct in stating³ that Gower attributes to Gaius Fabricius a saying properly attributed to Manlius Curius Dentatus. For if Curius tells the ambassadors of the Samnites "malle locupletibus imperare quam ipsum fieri locupletem," according to Valerius Maximus,⁴ who tells that Fabricius only rejected gifts sent by the same people,⁵ according to the pseudo-Frontinus,⁶ Fabricius tells the legate from the Epirots, when refusing the proffered money, "malle se habentibus id imperare, quam habere." This story which is independent of that of Valerius, both probably having their source in the earlier collection of exempla of Hyginus,⁷ in mediaeval collections of exempla⁸ was attributed to Vegetius, probably because the works of Vegetius and Frontinus were often copied together in the same manuscript.⁹ One change is found in the mediaeval versions: Fabricius refuses the offer not of the Epirots, but of the Samnites.¹⁰ If the English poet's account suggests an indebtedness

¹ I. C. Frati, *Ricerche sul Fiore di virtù, Studi di filol. rom.*, VI, 419; "Gnoto seauton," citing a Lyons 1539 edition of the *G.R.* The Greek term, however, could not have been entirely unknown, as Helinand preached on its meaning a sermon, which is found in the selection made by Vincent de Beauvais (*Hist. litt.*, XVIII, 99; *Les vers de la mort*, ed. Wulff et Walberg, VI, n. 3; xxvi, xxvii); and an anonymous sermon on the same subject has been noted by Hauréau, *Not. et extr.*, XXXVIII, 2, 398.

² The "emperor" is mentioned in the version of the *Gesta Rom.* (252; ed. Dick, 137), which does not mention the three dishonors, which are found in another version of the *Gesta Rom.* (30), *Tract.*, and probably of Holkot, whose source as cited was Jerome (*Gesta Rom.* 247, 249, 717), which fails to mention the "imperator." In the *Dial. creat.*, one finds "consules" instead of the "imperator," while the Lyons *G.R.* has "rex," Frati, *op. cit.* Cf. Herbert, 17, 207, 237, 242, 244, 252, 267, 642.

³ *Op. cit.*, III, 530.

⁴ *Mem.* IV, 3, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.* IV, 3, 6.

⁶ *Strateg.* IV, 3, 2.

⁷ A. Klotz, *Hermes*, XLIV, 203-4, 213-14.

⁸ *Tract.*, 4: "Sicut narrat Rescius libro 4^{to} de re militari." Herzstein (37) has noted that "Vegetius should be the correct reading." *Petri Allegherii Commentarium*, ed. Nannucci, 435: "Item per exemplum Fabritii, qui secundum quod scribitur per Vegetium, de re militari in quarto libro, dum esset consul Romae, legatis Epirotarum sibi aurum multum offerentibus, reuult, etiam ut Curius," etc. Cf. *Castigos & Documentos (Escritores en prosa anteriores al siglo XV)*, ed. Gayangos, 140a), where the authority cited is Valerius: "dijo que . . . queria haber ricos vasallos que grandes dones." On the source of the passage in this anonymous compilation of the second half of the fourteenth century in the supplementary material of Castrogeriz' Spanish translation of the *De regimine principum* of Gilles de Rome cf. Foulché-Delbosc, *Revue hispanique*, XV, 368, 370, and n. 4. On the possible indebtedness of Castrogeriz, cf. *Romanic Review*, I, 264.

⁹ Frontinus, ed. Gundermann, pp. v, x.

¹⁰ The *Tract.* has the reading, "legatus Thyranorum"; Pietro Dante has kept the name found in Frontinus; cf. n. 37.

for detail to Jofroi's stories both of Fabricius and Curius, it is clear that in this instance again Gower made use of another source, where the Samnites were named as the hostile nation, as in another story about Fabricius, for which the classical authority was Aulus Gellius,¹ who may have been indebted to the work of Hyginus for this story.² Gower must have found this story in the form in which it appears in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury,³ if his source was some collection of exempla,⁴ in which he found many of his illustrative anecdotes. With the beginning and end of this account:

Julius Hyginus in libro sexto *De vita rebusque virorum illustrium*, quod de Fabricio sequitur, refert. . . . Venerunt ergo secundo legati Samnitum ad C. Fabricium, multas et magnas res memorantes, que bene et benivole post redditam pacem Samnitibus fecerat, offerentes dono grandem pecuniam, et orantes ut eam acciperet et uteretur. . . . Romani siquidem non curant habere aurum, sed imperare volunt habentibus aurum;

may be compared Jofroi's and Gower's accounts, while there is no hint in Jofroi of the story for which Hyginus was the original authority:

In a Cronique I finde thus,
Hou that Gayus Fabricius,
Which whilom was consul of Rome,
Be whom the lawes yede and come,
Whan the Sampnites to him broghte
A somme of golde, and him besoghte
To don hem favour in the lawe,
Toward the gold he gan him drawe,

Vegesce tellyth, that a nobil con-
saillour of Rome that Fabrice was
callid, a wyse and a worthy man pat
lowid not yftis to rescewe, Answarid
to an Ambassatoure of a fere Estraunge
contre, that hym proferid a grete
Some of golde:

Fabricus vero planas manus ab auri-

¹ *Noct. Att.* I. 13, 2, ed. Hertz.

² A. Gellius elsewhere (x. 18) refers to "Hyginus in exemplis" as the source of one of his stories. Cf. Klotz, *op. cit.*, 214.

³ Lib. V, chap. vii; Migne, *Patrol.*, CXCIX, 556. The version given by Benvenuto da Imola (*Comentum super Dantis Aldigherij Comediam*, ed. Lacaia, III, 522), is nothing but an unacknowledged borrowing from the *Policraticus* (cf. P. Toynbee, "Index of Authors Quoted by Benvenuto da Imola," *Eighteenth and Nineteenth Annual Reports of the Dante Society*, 26, 27). In the *De monarchia* (II, 5) Dante seems to refer to the version under discussion in referring to Fabricius who "auri grande pondus oblatum derisit, ac derisum, verba sibi convenientia fundens, despexit et refutavit," although in the *Convivio* (IV, 5) he refers to the stories of Fabricius and Curius as they are found in Valerius.

⁴ Notwithstanding the similarity in certain details of John of Salisbury's version to Gower's version of this and of other stories, the English poet does not seem to have made use of the *Policraticus*. On the other hand, the English translator of Jofroi has made frequent use of it, with and without acknowledgment of his authority. Cf. *S.S.* 148, 21-31; cf. 121, 24-1223, 150, 9-19; *Pol.*, VI, 6; 524-25; *S.S.*, 148, 18-21; *Pol.*, VI, 2; 593; *S.S.*, 190, 12-16; *Pol.*, V, 10; 566.

Wherof in alle mennes lok
 A part up in his hond he tok,
 Which to his mouth in alle haste
 He putte it, forto smelle and taste,
 And to his yhe and to his Ere,
 Bot he ne fond no comfort there:
 And thanne he gan it to despise,
 And tolde unto hem in this wise:
 'I not what is with gold to thryve,
 Whan non of all my wittes fyve
 Fynt savour ne delit therinne.
 So is it bot a nyce Sinne
 Of gold to ben to covoitous;
 Bot he is riche and glorious,
 Which hath in his subjeccion
 Tho men whiche in possession
 Ben riche of golde, and be this skile:
 For he mai aldai when he wile,
 Or be hem lieve or be hem lothe,
 Justice don upon hem bothe.'
 Lo, thus he seide, and with that word
 He threw tofore hem on the bord
 The gold out of his hond anon,
 And seide hem that he wolde non:
 So that he kepte his liberte
 To do justice and equite,
 Withoute lucre of such richesse.
 (2783-2832.)

bus et ad oculos, et infra, et deinceps
 ad nares, et ad os, et ad gulam, et de-
 inde ad ventrem et ima, deduxit, et
 legatis in haec verba respondit: "Dum
 omnibus his membris, quae attigi,
 resistere atque imperare potero, mihi
 nihil omnino deerit ideoque vobis
 reservate pecuniam necessariam, usibus
 vestris nec eam quibus necessaria, aut
 grata non est ingeratis. Romani, etc."

Leuer is hit to me to comaunde tho
 that the golde haue, than thare good
 to have. (173, 26-30, 31-32.)

Cf. Marcus Curius hath leuer to
 comaunde riche men than be ryche;

witte ye that y shall not be corruptid
 by frendshup, enemyte, neyther by
 golde, ne by Siluer. (177, 25-27.)

In neither of these instances is the story told under the same category in both works; that of the Roman triumph is told in the *Secretum* as an example of Prudence; by Gower as a warning against Flattery; the story of Fabricius is found under the heading of Fortitude in the one work, and as an example of Justice in the other. But at this point Gower has probably kept nearer to the French text than Yonge, who adapted the stories to fit the setting of his own addition to his translation. So again, under the same heading as the story of Fabricius, the English translation gives that of Codrus, while Gower, in following the French text, which has the same order as the Latin *Secretum*, gives it as an example of "Pite" or Mercy. Even if Gower has told only enough of the story to point his moral, it is evident that he used two versions of the story. To one which he found in a collection of exempla, he owed the name of the hostile people "Dor-ence," and the name of Apollo as the god he consulted, as they are

found in the version of the *Gesta Romanorum*¹; to his French text he was indebted for the citation of his authority and for his account of the answer of the god and his own decision, although there it appears as the reflection of the narrator:

for this Valeire tolde

For as Valery Sayth, and Seynte
austynne hit rehersyth

Of tuo pointz that he myhte chese,
Or that he wolde his body lese
And in bataille himselve deie,
Or elles the seconde weie,
To sen his poeple desconfit.
Bot he, which Pite hath parfit
Upon the point of his believe,
The people thoghte to relieve,
And ches himselve to be ded.
(VII, 3191-99, 381.)

For leuer hym was deth to suffyr,
that his men had the maystri, than
lyue and See his men to bene ouer-
come. (*S.S.*, 173, 14, 22-24.)²

Yet another story which is found under the same rubric in both the English adaptations of Jofroi's works points to a common origin the allusion to the nobility of the lion, which appears in a chapter devoted to Fortitude entitled "of the Pite and mercy that a Prynce sholde haue" in Yonge's work, and under the rubric of "Pite" in Gower's poem. However if Gower got his suggestion for this allusion in its due order, he was indebted to a chapter of that part of the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, devoted to natural history, for some of his details:

of the natures this I finde,
The fierce Leon in his kinde,
Which goth rampende after his preie,
If he a man finde in his weie,
He wode him slen, if he withstonde.

Ci comence de la nature des Ani-
maus.

Et jà soit lions de si haut corage et
de si fiere nature . . . et ne sera jà

¹ Ed. Oosterley. cap. xl, "Dorenses," "consuluit Apollinem." In the account of Valerius Maximus (V, 6, Ext. 1) the name of the hostile people is not given, and we have the longer phrase, "ad Apollinis Delphici oraculum," which has been properly rationalized for the mediaeval mind. In the second source cited by our French author (Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XVIII, 19) the "peloponnensibus" appears, which appears as "Polimensem," "Polipines," "Polipolens." *Gesta Rom.*, ed. Dick, 124; *Tract.*, 3; Hoccleve, 3952; although Augustine is not cited as an authority in these accounts. In Hoccleve's account, which is an evident misunderstanding of the story, ll. 3956-62 were suggested by Gower's account. There is no equivalent of the "Dorrence" in the French text, *B.N. f.* 11822, 96, recto, col. 1. "Dorenses" appears in John of Salisbury's version (*Pol.*, IV, 2, 517).

² Cf. "Maluit enim mori, ut vincerent sui, quam suis viuere superatis" (*Tract.*, 3); "é mas quise que venciesen los suyos ál moriendo, que escapar é que quedasen" (*Castigos*, cap. x); "ca quiso morir porque venciesen los suyos mas que vir é que los suyos fuesen vencidos" (*Libro de los enz.*, 282).

But if the man coude understonde
 To falle anon before his face
 In signe of mercy and of grace,
 The Leon schal of his nature
 Restreigne his ire in such mesure,
 As thogh it were a beste tamed,
 And torne away halfvinge aschamed,
 That he the man schal nothing grieve.
 (3387-99.)

correciez à home se il ne li mesfet
 premierement; mais à merveilles est
 piteus, que là ou il est plus correciez
 et plus plains d'ire et de mautalent
 contre lui, lors li pardone volentiers, et
 plus tost se li hom se giete à terre et
 fait semblant de crier merci. (182,
 224.)

Anothyr ensampill I fynde writte
 of the lyon, that thegh a man haue
 hym Sore hurte, and than he that hym
 hurte falle doun to the Erthe, as he
 wolde cry hym mercy, he wil hym not
 dyssayse in nothings. (*S.S.*, 181, 24-25.)

Macaulay has noted that "the idea of the four complexions of man, corresponding to the four elements, is not due to Aristotle, but we find it in the *Trésor*, and this is a correct statement of the facts. But his further remark that "the application to matters of love in ll. 393-440 is presumably Gower's own,"¹ needs correction, for just this application is found in our French version of the *Secretum*. The order in which the temperaments are discussed differs in the works of Jofroi, Latini, and Gower. In the first of these the order is (1) Sanguine, (2) Phlegmatic, (3) Coleric, (4) Melancholic; in the *Trésor*, (1) Phlegmatic, (2) Sanguine, (3) Coleric, (4) Melancholic; and in the *Confessio Amantis*, (1) Melancholic, (2) Phlegmatic; (3) Sanguine; (4) Coleric. For a comparison of the two

¹ *Op. cit.*, 523. Sundby (*op. cit.*, 102) does not discuss Latini's source. There is a suggestion of the same idea in the hygienic *enseignement* of Thomas le Bourguignon, written in 1286 to judge from the few fragments that have been published (*Bulletin de la soc. des anciens textes franc.*, XXX, 49, 51; cf. 43 ff., 91).

That this idea was not original to Jofroi, whatever was his source, is shown by the fact that it appears in a German poem of the fifteenth century, on the four temperaments published by C. von Hardenberg, *Germania*, XXVII, 413-41. In this German poem the order of complexions is Sanguine, Coleric, Phlegmatic, and Melancholic, and nothing is said of love in the case of Melancholic, as in Jofroi. But in an English version (cited by Steele, *Lydgate and Burgh's Secretes*, 104) it is only mentioned in the case of Sanguine. To consider the application to Melancholic an independent addition is as dangerous as Macaulay's suggestion that in his account of Alexander and Diogenes, including the conversation about the Reason and the Will, "the incident of the messenger sent to inquire and of the answer he brought back is no doubt due to Gower" (*C.A.*, III, 1201; *Works of Gower*, II, 497). Now in an oft-repeated story, which is found in the *Gesta Rom.* (61; ed. Dick, 151) a soldier of Alexander meets Socrates, who is living as a hermit, and the same answers are given to the soldier and Alexander, as in the *C.A.* In one version found in the *Libro de los enz.* (381) one finds the nearest approach to Gower's version: Socrates lives in a tub, etc. In another version of the *Enz.* (190) the shorter version told by Burley of Socrates (*op. cit.*, 194) is attributed to Plato.

texts the order of Jofroi's work is adopted, as best showing Gower's indebtedness, and the changes he has made from his original:

What man that takth his kinde of thair,
He schal be lyht, he schal be fair,
For his complexion is blood.
Of alle there is non so good,¹
For he hath bothe will and myht
To plesse and paie love his riht:
Wher as he hath love undertake,
Wrong is if he be forsake. (421-28.)

The water, which is moyste and cold,
Makth fleume, which is manyfold
Foryetel, slou and wery sone
Of every thing which is to done.²
He is of kinde sufficient
To holde love his covenant,
Bot that him lacketh appetit,
Which longeth unto such delit.
(413-20.)

The fyr of his condicion
Appreth the complexion
Which in a man is Colre hote,
Whos propertes ben dreie and hote:
Of kontek and folhastifnesse
He hath a riht gret besinesse,
To thenke of love and litel may:
Though he behote wel a day,
On nyht whan that he wole assaie,
He may ful evele his dette paie.
(429-32; 435-40.)

Of therthe, which is cold and drye,
The kinde of man Malencolie
Is cleped, and that is the ferste.
The most ungoodlich and the werste,
For unto loves werk on nyht
Him lacketh bothe will and myht:
No wonder is, in lusty place
Of love though he lese grace,
What man hath that complexion
Full of ymaginacion
Of dredes and of wrathful thoghtes,
He fret himselven al to noghtes.
(401-12.)

The bloode is hotte and moysti to
the lyckenesse of the heiere
his complexion shalbe lyght to hurte
and to empeyre for his tendernysse
. . . . of fayre semblaunt. The sang-
gyne by kynde sholde lowe. . . . com-
pany of women he shal be
hardy y-nowe, of good will. (219, 35-
36; 220, 2-3, 6; 219, 38-220, 2.)

fleme is colde and moysti aftyr the
kynde of the watyr. . . . The fleu-
matyke by kynde he sholde be slowe,
sadde, ful stille, and Slowe of answer
. . . . he shalbe grete and fatte. . . .
And as touchynge maneres he shal be
piteuouse, chaste, and lytill desyre
company of women. (219, 36; 220,
7, 9, 10-12.)

colre hoote and drye aftyr kynde
of fyre his body is hote and
drye. . . . Desyrous of company of
women moore than hym nedyth.
(219, 37; 220, 13, 17-18.)

Malancoly colde and dry aftyr
kynde of erthe. . . . The Malen-
coly man sholde be lene of body and
dry. . . . And as touchynge maneris,
he sholde bene pensyfe and Slowe,
and of stille wille, still and dredfull,
and a smalle entremytttere. More
latre Is he wourthe than a colerike
man, but he holdyth longyr wreth;
he is of sotille ymagynacion. (219, 37;
220, 19-25.)

¹ B.N.; f. l., 1822, fol. 107: "Ce est la mieudre complexions qui soit."

² Ibid., "Ence que fleume est froide et moiste et de nature d'algue et de yver, con-
vient il que il soit lenz et oesanz . . . et non mie bien sovenans des choses passées."

In the beginning of the section on physiognomy in the *Secretum Secretorum* is found the story of "Philomon, wyche was a maystyr of Phisnomye" (217), who gives a correct judgment of the character of Hippocrates from a portrait, to which Gower owed the information which led him to put among other discoverers of sciences:

And Philemon be the visage
Fond to describe the corage. (C.A. IV, 2405-6.)

There is no way, however, of showing whether he was indebted for this information to the Latin version or the French translation.¹

Elsewhere than in the seventh book of the *Confessio Amantis*, Gower seems to have made use of the work of Jofroi. In his account of Vergil's wonderful mirror, which he adopted from a story of the *Roman des sept sages*, in a form represented by the prose versions published by Le Roux de Lincy,² Gower has introduced Carthage and Hannibal as the enemy who were responsible for its destruction. As a consequence of its destruction:

thus hath Rome lost his pride
And was defouled overal.
For this I finde of Hanybal,
That he of Romeins in a dai,
Whan he hem fond out of arai,
So gret a multitude slowh,

¹ On versions of this story borrowed from the *Secretum* cf. Knust, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, X, 296-97; Steinschneider, *ibid.*, XII, 375. In *El Cavallero Cifar* (ed. Michelant, 185) the features of Hippocrates are merely described to Afilon (Filon). Cf. C. P. Wagner, *Rev. hispanique*, X, 25. The story was originally told of Zopyrus and Socrates. The various versions in classical authorities have been collected and commented on by R. Förster (*Script. physiogn.*, I, vii-xiii). The Arabs were responsible for transferring the story to Philemon, who was for them *par excellence*, the physiognomist, and the confusion between Hippocrates and Socrates in translation is apparent. Knust has noted a number of allusions to the original story in mediaeval and modern literature (*Gualteri Burlaei Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum*, 114).

² 51 ff. Gower probably found this story as well as that of the *Senescalus* (V, 2643 ff.) in the version of the *Sept sages* denominated as A by G. Paris, the source of the various English versions (*Deux rédactions du roman des sept sages de Rome*, xvi ff.; *Romania*, XXVIII, 166) and not the version published by Le Roux de Lincy, as is supposed without question by Macaulay (*op. cit.*, 495, 496). In the *Mirour* (14725 ff.) Gower gives the account of the *Salvatio Romae* found in Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum* (ed. Wright, 310; *Gesta Rom.* 186, ed. Dick, 82) in which it is a palace, containing statues representing the different provinces. In Hellinand's version, which is independent of Neckam's, in its preservation of the more primitive story (Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, 294, 296 ff.), Vergil is not mentioned, and the account in the *Historia septem sapientum* is shorter and differs in details, whatever may have been its origin (*Deux réd.*, XXXVI, 115), so that Gower does not show an acquaintance here any more than elsewhere with this version of the *Sept sages*.

That of goldringes, whiche he drowh
 Of gentil handes that ben dede,
 Buissshelles fulle thre, I rede,
 He felde and made a bregge also
 That he mihte over Tibre go
 Upon the corps that dede were
 Of the Romeins, whiche he slowh there (V, 2196-2208),

an anecdote he found told in close connection with those about Codrus and Fabricius, of which I have already shown he made use:

haniball the kynge of Cartage, that is Souerayne Cite of affryke, had besieged the Cite of Rome longe tyme, and so hugely slayne of the romanys that in oone day he dide fill thre bushelis of golde ryngis, that weryn of the Pryncis and of the wourthy men.¹

To this source is evidently due Gower's mistake of locating this battlefield—of Cannae—under the walls of Rome, although it was not, assuredly, the source of the bridge of bodies, which is to be found in a phrase of the account of the same episode in the version also found in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury:

De caesorum cadaveribus in torrente Vergello pons solidus factus est victoris iussu.²

The detailed story of Diogenes and Aristippus (VII, 2217 f.) could have been suggested only by the account in Jofroi's work (175, 37-178, 3), which closely resembles the account of the original authority, Valerius Maximus (IV, 3, Ext. 4), who is cited by Jofroi.³ Here again the story is told under different rubrics, in the English version of Jofroi as an example of Fortitude, by Gower as a warning against Flattery. Even biblical stories were suggested in their due category to Gower by his French source. So both tell the stories of David and Agag (3807 ff.; 161, 40-162, 18) and of David, Solomon, and Joab (3846 ff.; 175, 10-14) as examples of stern Justice in kings;

¹ "Et tant ocis des romains que un jor fist emplir trois muis d'aniaux [MS anulas] d'or, qui furent az princes et az hanz homs" (MS cit., fol. 96, recto, col. 2). Jofroi's source was without doubt the work of Eutropius, of which he was the translator (*H.L.*, XXI, 217, 226): "et tres modios aureorum annulorum Carthaginem misit, quos e manibus equitum Romanorum, senatorum, et militum detraxerat" (III, 11, ed. Dietsch; cf. Valerius Max., VII, 2, Ext. 16). The same episode in the narrative of Livy (xxlii. 7) so struck Dante's imagination that he refers to it twice (*Inf.*, XXVIII, 10-12; *Conv.* IV, 5).

² Lib. III, chap. x, Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, CXCIX, 495.

³ Knust (*Gualteri Burlaei Liber*, etc., 193) has collected instances of this story to which may be added: *Castigos*, 34; *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. De Queux de Saint-Hilaire et Raynaud, II, 38; cf. XI, 214.

and that of Solomon's choice of Wisdom (3891 ff.; 149, 20—150, 7) as an example of royal Prudence. If they are not given in the same order, it is because Gower has given his biblical stories separately and consecutively.

In his earlier work, *Mirour de l'omme* (18301—10), Gower tells after "Valeire" "en les viels gestes de romeins" how the beautiful youth Phirin—i.e., Spurius—"copa ses membres de ses mains," a rendering or misrendering of the Latin phrase "oris decorem vulneribus confudit,"¹ to escape the tempting offers of women. In the *Confessio Amantis* (V, 6372—84) he tells the story of Phyrins, who tore out his eyes for the same reason. This radical change in detail is not due to the story as told by Jofroi,² who follows the text of Valerius closely; but to the influence of kindred tales of great popularity of philosophers, saints, and nuns, who mutilated themselves in this way for different reasons.³ One might be tempted to attribute a moralization on the greatness and death of Alexander (C.A., III, 2438—80) to a version of the sayings of the wise men at the tomb of Alexander, in Jofroi's work (150, 37—151, 31) if both authors had not had a common source in the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus, in a chapter of which the influence was far-reaching.⁴ The work of Alphonsus is doubtless the source of a similar, if briefer, reflection of Gower in the *Mirour* (22057); as in this work he refers elsewhere twice to Alphonsus as an authority from whom he quotes (2843, 13675). The variants from the Latin version, noted by Macaulay,⁵ in the story of the Jew and the Pagan, (VII, 3207* ff.) might be also attributed to the French version, but such is not the case,⁶ as at

¹ IV, 5, Ext. 1.

² 190, 16—24.

³ *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Crane, pp. 22, 158; P. Toldo, *Herrigs Archiv*, CXIV, 95; *Dial. creat.*, cap. xi; *Alphabet of Tales*, [chaps. 659, 682—3, 732, 776; Herbert, *op. cit.*, 27—28, 72, 374, 611.

⁴ Tolscher, *Wien. Sitzungsber. Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, XCVII, 381; Herzog, *ibid.*, CXLII, Part VI, 81—82; Schönbusch, *ibid.*, CLXIII, Part I, 41; Risop, *Herrigs Archiv*, CX, 128; Toldo, *ibid.*, CXVIII, 329; *Gesta Rom.*, ed. Oesterley, 9, 31; ed. Dick, 66; Herbert, 132, 232, 267. For source cf. Hertz, *op. cit.*, 134 ff. For the narrative Gower seems to have been indebted to the *Roman d'Alexandre* (ed. Michelant, 506—9; 547—48; cf. C.A., III, 2453—57; *Rom. d'Alex.*, 547, 5—6; 548, 16—17. For source, P. Meyer, *Alex. le Grand*, II, 204—5; 210.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 532.

⁶ S.S., 165—67; H.L., XXI, 222—23. In *El libro de los ensemptos* (131) the story is told without any variants from the original. On its ultimate source cf. H.L., XXI, 839; Steinschneider, *Jahrb.*, XII, 374.

this point Jofroi follows his Latin text closely, and these variants must be attributed to Gower himself.

Were it not for the consistency with which Gower tells his tales under the same categories as in Jofroi's work, to which the verbal indebtedness is sometimes apparent, the stories might have been taken from some collection of exempla.¹ Thus the stories of Codrus, Fabricius, and the Roman Triumph are told in close connection with other stories of the seventh book; Julius Caesar and the veteran (2061 ff.),² Antigonus and the Cynic (2115 ff.),³ the emperor and his masons (2412 ff.),⁴ as well as the story of Alexander and the pirate, told in the third book (2363 ff.)⁵ in the *Tractatus de diversis historiis Romanorum*, which must have had a common source with Gower, as with the *Dialogus creaturarum* for these stories.⁶ This collection was not the *Gesta Romanorum*,⁷ which contains only four of these stories, told in a bald narrative which omits many of the details found in Gower's version. He does

¹ For Gower's use of exempla cf. Hamilton, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIX, 51.

² Found first in Seneca *De beneficiis* v. 24. The advocate appears in the form of the story told by John of Salisbury (*Policraticus*, III, 14); the source of the story in the *Tract.*, (13), the *Dial. creat.* (23), and the *Libro de los enz.* (253), as in Gower's and Hoccleve's accounts (*Reg. of Princes*, 3270 ff.), if he does not appear in the version of the *Gesta Rom.* (87; ed. Dick, 100). In all the fuller versions Asia is where the service is performed; in Gower alone is it Africa. On various versions cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, 140, 149, 151, 152, 193, 201, 214, 217, 224, 226, 228, 254, 566.

³ The ultimate source of this story is Seneca *De ben.* II, 17; Gower's immediate source was an exemplum containing the name of "Clinichus," as in *Tract.* (7), which is not found in the account of the *Trésor* (412), which is suggested as the source by Macaulay (*op. cit.*, 529). However if it is found in Gower under the rubric of Liberality, it is due to the fact that it is given under the same caption, "Des enseignemens de Doner," in Latin's work. For analogues cf. *Moralités des philosophes* of Alart de Cambrai (*H. L.*, XXIII, 244; cf. *Trésor*, xvii); *Renart le Contrefait* (*Rom.*, XXXVII, 255), *Libro de los enz.* (255), and *El Cifar*, (236); *Alphabet of Tales* (442); Herbert, *op. cit.*, 158, 419, 435; Frati, 383.

⁴ *Vita Iohannis Eleemosynarii* (Migne, *Patrol.*, LXXIII, 343), which is cited as authority by *Tract.* (12), *Dial.* (122), *Libro de enz.* (225), and Hoccleve (2857 ff.). In the *Alphabet of Tales*, 512, Isidore is the authority cited.

⁵ To the references given by Oesterley (*Gesta Rom.* 146), add R. Köhler, *Kl. Schr.*, II, 559; P. Toldo, *H. A.*, CXVIII, 329; *Zeitschr. f. franz. Sprache*, XXXI, 1, 188; L. Thusne, *Rev. des bibliothèques*, XVI, 230 ff.; *Tract.*, 1; *Libro de los enz.*, 42 (*Rom.*, VII, 509); Herbert, 159, 268; Frati, 413-15. Gower's narrative approaches most closely to the *Tract.*, *Dial.*, and *Castigos* (31).

⁶ Herzstein, *op. cit.* In the *Dial. creat.*, *Libro de los enz.*, and in perhaps the source of Hoccleve (5439 ff.) appear the speeches of the sages at the tomb of Alexander, which are first found in the *Disc. cler.*, although the Spanish version attributes them to a book of Demosthenes. Cf. p. 337, n. 4; and Hertz, *op. cit.*, 149, n. 8.

⁷ On the wide meaning of "Gesta Romanorum" cf. S. J. H. Herrtage, *Early English Versions of the Gesta Rom.*, vii; Macaulay, *op. cit.*, 529; R. Köhler, *op. cit.*, II, 247; Tolscher, *op. cit.*, 381, n.

not refer once to the collection; "les viels gestes de romains" (*Mir.* 18301) is Valerius Maximus; "the gestes old of Rome, that Valerie told" (*C.A.*, V, 6359-60) is a wrong citation of the *Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum*, for Jerome's *ad Joviananum*,¹ whose author was correctly cited in the *Mirour* (7119 ff.).²

To one of Jofroi's authorities in his version of the *Secreta Secretorum* "Eutropias in the Stories of Romanes," "L'Estoire des Romains" of "Etropias," Gower seems indebted for his curious information about some of the Roman emperors. A misunderstanding of the three chapters of the work of Eutropius on Galba, Otho, and Vitellius is the source of the queer fellowship of Galba and Vitellius, if not the authority for the account of their death (VI, 537 ff.).³ The same "Chronique" is no doubt referred to as a general authority on Nero (VI, 1151 ff.);⁴ and it was that of "the olde bokes of recorde" in which he found Trajan's definition of what sort of emperor he wished to be (VII, 3142 ff.).⁵ Again, if he drew his account of the unnatural crimes of Caligula (VII, 199 ff.) from a source which combined details from Orosius⁶ and the *Epitome* of Aurelius Victor,⁷ Eutropius was the "Cronique" in which "it is yit spoke" of the lustful life of "Anthonie" "which of Severus was the Sone" (VII, 4574 ff.).⁸ To another misunderstanding of the three chapters on the Tarquin is due Gower's identification of Tarquinius

¹ For the close connection of these two works cf. *Works of Chaucer*, ed. Skeat, III, 302; V, 308 ff.

² *H.L.*, XXI, 225.

³ VII, 16-18. If the scene is laid in Spain by Gower (539, 569) it is because Galba, "ab Hispanis et Gallis imperator electus." Otho is not mentioned on account of a misunderstanding of the phrase, "Otho occiso Galba invasit imperium."

⁴ VII, 14-15. On Nero in mediaeval tradition cf. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nella immaginazione de medio evo*, I, 334 ff.; II, 123, 580-81; P. Toldo, *Herrigs Archiv*, CXVIII, 330 ff. I do not know the source of Nero's experiment in digestion: killing three men, who had taken different exercises after eating the same food, to examine their stomachs (*C.A.*, VII, 1167-1207); on Alexander's experiment of taking out the hearts of a happy and unhappy dog cf. F. Liebrecht, *Gott. gel. Anz.*, 1866, 2027. The story of Nero in hell (*Mir.*, 24469 ff.) which is attributed to Seneca is a widely known exemplum (*Exempla* of J. de Vitry, 14, 148; Toldo, *ibid.*, CXVII, 301; Herbert, 135, 374, 431, 621), in which is cited "tragedia quadam Seneca."

⁵ VIII, 5. For other mediaeval citations cf. R. Köhler, *Kl. Schr.*, II, 247, 365; *Castigos*, 12.

⁶ *Adv. pag.*, VII, 5, 9.

⁷ III, 4.

⁸ VIII, 19-20. Boethius refers to Caracalla as Antonius, as the name also appears in Chaucer's translation (ed. Skeat, Book III, p. 5, l. 35).

Sextus with Aruns¹ in his stories of the capture of Gabii (4193-4753), and the rape of Lucretia (4754-5130). With such a misunderstanding of his text, the name of Eutropius may be hidden under "Ephiloquerus,"² one of those who

The firste were of Enditours,
Of old Cronique and eke auctours. (IV, 2409, 2411-12.)³

Only a comparison with Jofroi's painfully literal translation will show whether these misinterpretations of the Latin text are due to him.

But if Gower was indebted to the French translator of the *Secretum Secretorum* for the substance and hints of many of his stories in the seventh book and elsewhere, he has not followed him in admitting parts of the original Latin text as not authoritative. It was just these parts which Gower has enlarged upon with his own reading. For while Jofroi "écarte des rêveries fort confuses sur les propriétés occultes des corps, sur l'influence des planètes, et certaines herbes et pierres merveilleuses,"⁴ stating, "Des propretez et qualitez et vertuz d'aucune erbes, et d'arbres, quant il dist en cest lieu de pieres et d'erbes, et d'arbres est faus, et plus ressemble fable que veritei ou philosophie; et ce sevent tous les clerks qui bien entendent le latin,"⁵ Gower enlarges upon each of these subjects. His definition of astronomy (670-79) and in part that of astrology (679-84), with an apology for the latter (633-63) is due to the Latin *Secretum Secretorum*.⁶ An outline of astronomy taken from the *Trésor*,⁷ is

¹ VII, 12; I, 8-10.

² As noted by Macaulay, *op. cit.*, 534.

³ For Eutropius in lists of mediaeval authorities cf. Meyer, *Alex. le Grand*, II, 98; Rajna, *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, II, 436; Petersen, *Publications Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XVIII, 174, n. On the use made of his work, see Manitius, *Philol.*, XLIX, 191, and MSS in libraries; *Rhein. Mus.*, XLVII, *Ergänzungsheft*, 88-89.

⁴ *H.L.*, XXI, 225.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 221.

⁶ As the Latin text is not accessible to me I cite the English translation, contemporaneous with Gower, made from the Latin in *Three Prose Versions of the Secr. Secr.*, where the editor has added the numbering of the chapters of the Latin text (chap. xxxi, pp. 64-66; cf. Kunst, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, 287; Steinschneider, *ibid.*, XII, 372, *Heb. Uebers.*).

⁷ As Macaulay (*op. cit.*, III, 522) expressly states that Gower's "astronomy is for the most part independent of the *Trésor*," it may be well to note just what this indebtedness was (cf. *C.A.*, VII, 685-709: *T.* 124-25; *C.* 721-27: *T.* 140, 5; 141, 3-4; *C.* 731-35: *T.* 139, 25; 410, 4; cf. 137, 8-14; 735-44: *T.* 137, 15; 140, 5; 141, 7; 139, 12-17; *C.* 774-75; 782: *T.* 129, 14-15; *C.* 865-70: *T.* 129, 11; 130, 2-3; *C.* 889-94: *T.* 129, 7; 86, 10; *C.* 909-12: *T.* 129, 4; *C.* 935-39: *T.* 125, 7; 128, 17; *C.* 973-78: *T.* 128, 8-16). As Gower refers to the "Almageste" as his authority on the phases of the moon (739) it may be well to cite the passage of the Latin translation, which is not easily accessible, to show that Gower was not directly indebted to it: "In eclipsisibus autem lunaribus nihil

the framework of a detailed account of the influence of the planets on the men and countries under their control, and a description of the signs of the zodiac, the planets in their mansions, and the months tributary to them (685-1236). This addition was suggested to Gower by a short section in the *Secretum*, advising that the course of the planets, and the signs of the zodiac be watched closely when it was necessary to take medicine.¹ The source of this material was the *Introductorium in astronomiam* of Abū'Ma'sar, as can be inferred from the statement of Gower,

Nou hast thou herd the proprete
Of Signes, bot in his degre
Albumazar yit over this
Seith,

at the beginning of his account of the four "climates" which are governed by the twelve signs of the Zodiac (1237-80), which had its source in the same work, from which Gower drew his references to "Tholemeus" (1043, 1201). Just how Gower made use of this authority can only be shown by a comparison of his account with the complete text of the *Introductorium*,² as it is to be found in many manuscripts, instead of with the abridged composite text of the

eorum accidit quae contingunt propter diversitatem aspectuum lunarium. Aspectus enim oculorum non est causa eorum quae accidunt lunae ex eclypsi. Luna autem non illuminatur nisi a lumine solis. sol ergo semper illuminat supra totam medietatem sphaerae eius oppositam soli et in quibusdam temporibus videtur tota luna plena lumine; quam medietas sphaerae eius illuminata est tunc tota inclinata nobis: facie eius ad nos versa. Cum autem fuerit oppositio lunae et solis: in qua erit casus eius in umbra terrae pneali: cuius revolutio est contraria revolutioni solis, tunc tenebrabitur et minuetur ex lumine eius suam quantitatem qua cadit in umbram ex ea: et tegit terra ex lumine solis ab ea" (cap. II, dict. 4, 2, fol. 35, verso. Venice, 1515 [cf. E. Flügel, *Anglia*, XVIII, 135]. It is to be noted that Gower's "ground" (743), is a translation of the Latin *terra* or French *terre* in the sense of "earth," "world." Sundby (*op. cit.*, 102-5) has failed to note Latini's direct use of the work of Ptolemy of which there can be no doubt. It is not surprising to find Gower using the *Trésor*, when a copy of it was in the library of the Earl of Worcester, who died in 1315 (Todd, *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer*, 161); and another copy was found in 1397 in the library of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, the contemporary, and perhaps, the friend (cf. *Works of Gower*, ed. Macaulay, IV, 313 ff.) of Gower (Dillon and Hope, *Archaeol. Jour.* LIV, 300).

¹ T.P.V., pp. 85-87, capp. lxxvi-vii; cf. Knust, *op. cit.*, 290; Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 373.

² It is not necessary to suppose that Gower used a secondary source such as the Latin work "Judicia que resultant ex 12 domibus cell et eorum signis per existenciam 7 planetarum in ipsis" (*Bibliothèque nationale; Inventaire* par L. Delsie, I [1891], 27), or the French work, "Les xij signes et les vij planettes" (Camus, *Bull. de la soc. des anc. textes franc.*, 1902, 101, 104-5).

incunabula.¹ The influence of the planets on herbs and precious stones is merely touched on by the *Secretum*.² A phrase in a chapter on this subject, "In aliis siquidem libris nostris plenarie de proprietatibus lapidum et viribus herbarum et naturis plantarum declaravimus,"³ led Gower to attribute to Nectabaneus, who appears as an astrologer in the mediaeval legend of Alexander, a work which was the source of a long passage in the *Confessio*.⁴ This was the popular work *Liber Hermetis de xv stellis et de xv lapidibus et de xv herbis*, which he may have translated from either Latin⁵ or French.⁶ Gower has, however, followed Jofroi in omitting an account of the wonder-working stones and plants, which is found in the *Secretum*, against which the French writer inveighed.⁷ Gower's account of the Philosopher's Stone in the fourth book (2605 ff.) was not taken from any version of the *Secretum*; at the very most the accounts of the three stones, vegetable, animal, and mineral, may have been a reminiscence of the term "lapidem animale vegetabilem et minerale" of the Latin version, which Gower probably found cited in the work of alchemy, the source for this passage in the poem.

In the Latin verses prefatory to the section on astronomy and astrology is one which reads:

Vir mediante deo sapiens dominabitur astris

¹ Cf. Steinschneider, *Bibliotheca mathematica*, 1890, 71; *Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, CXLIX, Part IV, 33, 49; K. Dyroff in F. Boll, *Sphaera*, 484-85; Ruelle, *Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscriptions*, 1910, 33. Macaulay (*op. cit.*, III, 526) could not find the source of ll. 1239 ff. in the printed *Introductorium*, and did not take the opportunity to use the fuller text of an available manuscript, which he suspected was the source. The use of the complete text of the work of the Arabic astronomer would probably show conclusively that neither Dante nor Albertus Magnus was in error in citing him upon the belief that the ignition of the vapors about Mars portended the death of kings (*Convivio*, II, 14, 14; P. Toynbee, *Dante Studies and Researches*, 39-40).

² *T.P.V.*, pp. 87, 89-91; capp. lxxix, lxxxiii; cf. Knust, *op. cit.*, 291; Steinschneider, *Jahrb.*, XII, 374.

³ I cite this phrase after Steinschneider, *Jahrb.*, XII, 370, n. 17; cf. 374; *T.P.V.*, 87, 14-16.

⁴ VI, 1789 ff., with notes.

⁵ Steinschneider, *Zeitschr. f. Mathematik u. Physik*, XVI, 385; 372, n.: *Die hebräische Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, 937; cf. M.R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 348; Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt*, 639; H. Haupt, *Philologus*, XLVIII, 37 f.

⁶ On a French translation, P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXXII, 115.

⁷ *Hist. litt.*, XXI, 221.

⁸ Cited in Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, ed. R. Steele.

which has been freely rendered:

Bot the divin seith otherwise,
That if men weren goode and wise
And plesant unto the godehede,
Thei scholden noght the sterres drede. (651-54.)

In the *Vox clamantis* the Latin phrase is given in a variant form:

In virtute dei sapiens dominabitur astris¹ (II, 239),

and it is freely paraphrased in the *Mirour*:

Des elementz auci je lis
Q' al homme se sont obeiz. (27013-14.)

It is curious that Gower attributes this saying to an anonymous "divin," when it is generally attributed to Ptolemy² in the form "Vir sapiens dominabitur astris."³ If the reference given by one⁴ of those who cite it is "Ptholomeus in sapienciis Almagesti," it is not found in the collection of apothegms found at the beginning of one edition and some manuscripts of the *Almagest*,⁵ and elsewhere.⁶ In Gower's source the saying may have been anonymous, or else attributed to Solomon as in Villon's *Codicille*:⁷

Vöy que Salmon escript en son rolet:
"Homme sage, se dit-il, a puissance
Sur les planetes & leur influence,"

so that Gower refers to its author as "the divin."

¹ Ed. reads "astra"!

² L. Thuasne has collected a number of other instances of its use by Renaissance writers, and cites as the correct form of the saying, "Vir bonus dominabitur," without citing his authority or pointing out its original source (*Epistolae et orationes Gaguini*, II, 27, n. 12). In the *Anticerbus*, the work of an anonymous Italian Franciscan of the thirteenth century it appears as—

Fert Ptolomeus, sapiens dominabitur astris.

on which Novati makes the inexplicable comment, "Non Tolomeo, bensì Euclide" (*Attraverso il medio evo*, 106). In the work of another Italian, Benvenuto da Imola, we find "secundum Ptholomaeum sapiens dominabitur astris" (*Comentum*, I, 520). Toynbee has not tried to find the origin of the phrase (*Index of Authors*, etc., 37). A French form appears in the *Almanach perpétuel* of the nineteenth century (cf. C. Nisard, *Historie des livres populaires*, 2d ed., I, 12);

Les astres peuvent l'homme incliner
Le sage les peut dominer

(Le Roux de Lincy, *Le livre des proverbes français*, I, 92). In Woodward's almanac, published at London in 1690 the phrase, "Sapiens dominabitur astris," is commented on to the effect that "the stars only incline, not compel" (G. L. Kittredge, *The Old Farmer's Almanack*, 48).

³ Delisle, *op. cit.*, where it is cited in another tract in the collection of astrological treatises noted on p. 341, n. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ E. Flügel, *Anglia*, XVIII, 134 ff.; F. Boll, *ibid.*, XXI, 229.

⁶ H. Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*, 317 ff.; *Gualteri Burlaei Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum*, 372.

⁷ Ed. Longnon, 71-73; cf. Thuasne, *op. cit.*, and *Rev. des bibliothèques*, XVI, 224.

The description of the sun's crown was taken directly or indirectly from the work so popular in the Middle Ages,¹ the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, of Martianus Capella and a comparison of the Latin text will show in what corrupted forms Gower wrote the proper names, for which the most recent editor gives no variants:

The Sonne is coroned
With brighte stones environed;
Of whiche if that I speke schal,
Ther be tofore in special
Set in the front of his corone
Thre Stones, whiche no persone
Hath upon Erthe, and the ferste is
Be name cleped Licuchis;
That othere tuo be cleped thus,
Astrices and Ceramius.
In his corone also behinde,
Be olde bokes as I finde,
Ther ben of worthi Stones thre
Set ech of hem in his degre:
Wherof a Cristall is that on,
Which that corone is set upon;
The seconde is an Adamant;
The thridde is noble and avenant,
Which cleped is Ydriades.
And over this yit natheles
Upon the sydes of the werk,
After the wrytinge of the clerk,
Ther sitten fyve Stones mo:
The smaragdine is on of tho,
Jaspis and Elitropius
And Dendides and Jacinctus.
(815-42.)

erat illi in circulum ducta fulgens
corona, quae duodecim flammis igni-
torum lapidum fulgurabat. quippe
tres fuerant a fronte gemmae Lychis
Astrites et Ceraunos. (22, 3-6.)²

posterior autem pars coronae Hyda-
tide Adamante et Crystallo lapidibus
lapidibus alligabatur. (16-18.)

Aliae sex ex utroque latere rutila-
bant quarum Smaragdus una, Scythia
altera, Iaspis tertia uocabatur. . . .
Hyacinthos Dendrites etiam Helio-
tropios compacti. (9-12; 17-18.)

The reduction of the number of jewels to eleven by the omission of the Scythia suggests that Gower took his information from a secondary authority in which the sun is represented sitting in his chariot—a feature not found in Martianus—driving his four horses whose names are given. If these names and their explanations—

And forto lede him swithe and smarte
Aftre the bryhte daies lawe,
Ther ben ordeined forto drawe

¹ On its popularity in mediaeval libraries cf. Manitius, *Rhein. Mus.*, XLVII, *Ergänzungsheft*, 112; especially in England; Schick, *Lydgate's Temple of Glass*, 80.

² Ed. Eyssenhardt, 1886.

Foure hors his Char and him withal,
 Wherof the names telle I schal:
 Eritheüs the ferste is hote,
 The which is red and schyneth hote,
 The second Acteos the bryhte,
 Lampes the thridde coursier hihte,
 And Philogeüs is the ferthe,
 That bringen liht unto this erthe (848-58)—

are first found in Fulgentius:¹

Huic quoque quadrigam scribunt . . . unde et ipsis equis condigna
 huic nomina posuerunt. . . . Eryteus Grece rubeus dicitur . . . Acteon
 splendens dicitur . . . Lampus uero ardens . . . Filogeus Grece terram
 amans dicitur,

there is no reason to believe that Gower found them in that work,
 with which he was probably not acquainted at first hand.² In the
 Old High German version of Martianus, attributed to Notker, one
 finds a Latin gloss cited³ on the translation of another passage⁴ in
 which Phoebus is represented as the charioteer of the sun, giving
 the names and their explanations. To such a gloss Gower was
 probably indebted, if not to some Latin verses on the subject, which
 were common enough.⁵

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¹ *Mitolog.*, ed. Halm, I, 12; 23, 11 ff. Macaulay gives the references as *Mythol.*, II (op. cit., III, 524).

² Macaulay conjectures (op. cit., II, 517) that Gower was indebted to Fulgentius for his account (V, 1518 ff.) of the beginnings of idolatry (*Mitol.*, I, 1; II, 6; ed. cit., 15, 21 ff.; 45, 22 ff.); it is more probable he found the information already put together in some encyclopedic compilation, under the heading of "Idolatria"; cf. e.g., Goetz, *Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, XIII, 262.

³ *Die Schriften Notkers und seiner Schule*, I, 722-23.

⁴ Ed. cit., 13, 3-4.

⁵ *Carmina Burana*, ed. Schmeller, 129. Wattenbach has noted another copy with variants, *Sitzungsber. d. bayrischen Akad. Philos.-Philol. Klasse*, 1873, 710. Robert Henryson in his *Testament of Gressed* has got suggestions for his description of Phoebus (197 ff.) from Gower's account of the sun (801 ff.), but in giving the names of his horses he has approximated them to those given by Ovid (*Met.* II, 153) in the case of the first three, while the fourth he has made "Philologiee," which Skeat has arbitrarily changed to "Philegoney" (*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, 334, 523). In his account of the horses, he resembles the description of the Latin verses rather than that given by Fulgentius.

SPENSER AND BRITISH IMPERIALISM

In the preceding articles in this series¹ it has been my endeavor to show that Spenser, like the other men of the brilliant circle with which he was connected, sought to win glory through political service. At first, he seems to have hoped to take an active part, for he wrote to Harvey in October, 1579, that he was about to be sent abroad in Leicester's service, that he had no time to think on such toys as verses, and that he looked forward to corresponding with Sidney. This hope, however, was soon dispelled, probably because of his speaking too plainly, in *Mother Hubberds Tale*, about the plot to make Alençon the king consort. At about the same time, the *Shepheards Calender* was published, and in it was a carefully constructed and cumulative argument warning Leicester and the Queen that the activities of the papal propaganda in England and Ireland, together with factional troubles in the government, would lead to Catholic supremacy and perhaps the overthrow of Elizabeth. As a result of these publications by a man not yet powerful enough to venture on such boldness, he was shipped to Ireland as secretary to Lord Grey.

Moreover, Spenser was from the first a student of theories of government. Harvey writes: "What though Il Magnifico Signior Immerito Benivolo hath noted this amongst his politique discourses and matters of state and governmente that the most courageous and valorous minds have evermore bene where was most furniture of eloquence and greatest stoare of notable orators and famous poets," etc.,² a statement which not only recalls Sidney's theories as to the value of poetry to the state and Spenser's own lost work on the *English Poet*, but also suggests the fact that in the circle in which Spenser moved literature was an avocation, not a trade. Again, in the *Faerie Queene* is found abundant evidence that he carefully studied the chronicles of past history and that he made use of current politics for purposes of his allegory. In the *Veue of the*

¹ "The Influence of Machiavelli on Spenser," *Modern Philology*, October, 1909; "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," *Publications Mod. Lang. Assn.*, September, 1910; "The Shepheards Calender," *ibid.*, September, 1911.

² *Letter Book*, p. 66.

Present State of Ireland he showed thorough acquaintance with Machiavelli and proved that he understood the real meaning of *Il principe* far better than most of his contemporaries.

There is at first sight nothing remarkable in Spenser's allegorical treatment of national dangers in *Mother Hubberds Tale* and in the *Calender*. Such early dramas as *Gorboduc* and *Kynge Johann* contain similar warnings; Lyly's *Sapho and Phao* is another allegory of the Alençon matter, as is also his *Endimion*,¹ though from a viewpoint hostile to Leicester, as might be expected from a poet whose patrons were Burghley and Oxford. Gascoigne in 1575 wrote a masque for the use of Leicester in entertaining the Queen at Kenilworth, which was designed to further the ambition of the earl to gain her hand.² But most examples of this kind of work are isolated, mere attempts to gain the favor of some powerful personage or works written at the behest of some patron. Spenser differed from all other literary men of his time in that he persistently clung to that conception of a poet's function that made him a *vates*, a "seer," a man who should warn and advise, directly or through cloudy allegories, those who ruled England. Every important production of his pen, with the exception of his *Amoretti* and the *Hymnes*, is an illustration of this statement. Moreover, a study of these works in chronological order proves that he was not merely a dreamer, an idle singer in an empty day, a poet's poet, but a farsighted student of government who saw clearly the great destiny of his nation. How this element in his work persists and enlarges it is my purpose in the present paper to point out.

I

What the feelings of Spenser were when he learned that he was to go to Ireland instead of to the Continent it is impossible to say. He may not have relished the change in plan, though his objection could not have been due to his desire to remain in London. It must be remembered that he belonged to the circle which included Sidney, Raleigh, and Fulke Greville, and that these men were not

¹ Tucker Brook, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVI, 13.

² In the masque it is shown that Diana lost Zabeta (Elizabeth) years before and now finds her still a virgin though a queen; she begs her not to marry, but Iris, coming from Juno, entreats her not to listen to Diana, since it is possible for her in this place where she has passed a pleasant day to enjoy "a world of wealth in wedded state" and there withal to "uphold the staff of her estate." Thus plainly did the earl plan to tell the

town gallants but adventurous spirits who despised the vices and effeminacy of the courtier class. There are in Spenser's works, in the *Mother Hubberds Tale*, in *Colin Clout*, in the *Faerie Queene*, too many passages that pour contempt on those who loafed about the court, making a living by their wits, aping the gallantries and affectations of the French and Italians, to make it conceivable that he wished to be of their number. No small part of the task that confronted Elizabeth was the government of restless and eager men like Drake, Gilbert, Raleigh, Sidney, who felt the intoxication of England's dawning greatness and like Tamburlaine sought to add new realms to its domain. In 1576 Gilbert wrote the tract which first suggested the duty of England to seize and colonize the lands across the seas; two years later he received a charter authorizing him to fit out an expedition to carry his project into execution: in 1583 he sailed with five ships to plant a colony in Newfoundland. Raleigh was forbidden to accompany him on this expedition, but in 1584 Virginia was named by him and in the next few years he was ceaselessly employed in furthering the project of colonization. Sidney was sent to the Low Countries to prevent him from carrying out his project to curb the power of Spain through naval attacks and colonization; the testimony of Fulke Greville shows how persistently he warned Elizabeth of the danger from Philip and how earnest he was in urging his plan of defense and counter attack. Greville records his own dissatisfaction at being kept at court by the Queen and tells how he ran away repeatedly, only to be denied the gracious presence for months at a time when he crept back. When, therefore, Spenser, alert, young, eager, realized that his stay in Ireland meant that he was to be cut off from participation in these stirring projects, the revulsion of feeling, at first intense and terrible, found expression in his splendid protest to Leicester in *Virgils Gnat*:

Wrong'd yet not daring to express my paine,
To you (great Lord) the causer of my care,
In cloudie teares my case I thus complaine
Unto yourselfe, that onely privie are.

Queen that by marriage with him she would make her position secure; moreover, a son was promised her. But apparently Elizabeth left somewhat abruptly and the masque was not presented, though Gascoigne tells us everything was ready, every actor in his garment, two or three days before she left. Therefore, Gascoigne was in the service of Leicester in 1575, as Spenser was four years later; it was the habit of the great earl to make use of poets to further his personal ambitions.

But this mood, I am convinced, was temporary. Those biographers who represent Spenser as the poet of ideal beauty whose own life was disfigured by moroseness, who see in all his later work only the vain attempts of an imprisoned bird to regain its liberty, who regard him as a servile functionary ready to give literary sanction to barbarous and inhuman practices, snarling at the estate of poets, satirizing the vices and manifold corruption of court while doing everything in his power to gain a recall, are surely unjust. The warrant for such views apparently given by the *Tears of the Muses* is inapplicable, for this poem is incontestably early work and represents such conventional complaints as can be duplicated scores of times in the literature of the sixteenth century. The references, scattered through the *Faerie Queene*, to the wild and savage country in which he was compelled to do his work are more serious, but they too reflect mainly the conventional protestations of the poets for the meanness of their verses. The later books of the epic, particularly the fourth and the sixth, indicate peace and content, not moroseness or wild despair. The tract on Ireland cannot be defended as a work of pure literature, yet it has its merits notwithstanding, while the positive evidence of *Colin Clout* proves contentment with his lot rather than bitter disappointment, and the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene* shows the poet's art at its zenith. Spenser was not to be sent as ambassador on affairs of state, he was not to be associated with his friends in the great projects that made the air electric, but he was to be the laureate of the new England, defending that national policy which, however cruel and narrow in some of its applications, was to enable her to thwart the foes that threatened her destruction.

Like all sustained poems, the *Faerie Queene* suffers from its length. One reads the first book, notes the form of its stanza, the beauty of its descriptions, the liquid melody of its verse, perhaps the intricacy of its allegory. But the poem lacks the variety of the *Canterbury Tales* and the effect of unity given the separate stories in the *Idylls of the King*. Even *Paradise Lost* possesses the advantage of presenting its most interesting and thrilling narrative in the first two books, while Spenser's poem seems academic, and the triple allegory, even though one try to follow Lowell's advice, persistently intrudes. This is partly due to the fact that at least the first book represents

early work, when the complicated allegory was the poet's chief object; it therefore suffers not only from the fact that allegory does not appeal to our naturalistic age but also because it has not the simplicity and directness of Bunyan or of Tennyson. It is in the last three books that we find a revelation of the mature thought of the poet that holds the attention. The fourth book is a complete exposition of his theory of love, supplementing admirably the *Four Hymnes*; in the fifth is presented his theory of the state, and in this his mastery of allegory is complete; while the sixth develops from all points of view a theme that runs through all his works, the praise of the simplicity and sincerity of life away from the heated atmosphere of the court, and indicates at least an intellectual reconciliation with his environment.

In the fifth book we have no longer the personified virtues and vices of mediaeval allegory, everything being subordinated to the treatment of problems of government. The book as a whole bears on the three crucial events in the reign of Elizabeth prior to the collision with Spain in 1588: the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, fomented as it was by the policy of Philip; the trial and execution of Mary, also a necessary step in repelling Spanish aggression; and the direct attack on Spain through intervention in the Netherlands. The theme of the book is the necessity for the exercise of imperial power to the utmost in putting down rebellion active and incipient, the right of a strong nation to aid an oppressed and suffering people, and, in some minor passages, the right of England to establish an empire beyond the seas. The method of the book is to tell, by means of incidents suitable to a metrical romance, the story of Grey's experience in Ireland; to present from two points of view a defense of Elizabeth's execution of her rival; and to relate the experience of Leicester in the Low Countries. But deeper than this allegorical treatment of contemporary events lies the exposition of a theory of government that makes the book one of the most remarkable productions of its time.

The greatest space is given to the Irish problem. Irena (Ireland) must be delivered from Grantorto (Spain) by that queen whose glory it was to aid all suppliants and to be the patron of all weak princes (i, 4). Artegall, who represents Justice united with sovereign Power,

on this occasion personified by Lord Grey, is deputed for the task. Then follows a series of incidents by which Spenser gives a vivid picture of the wretchedness of the country. The Squire mourning over the headless trunk of his love is a symbol of the woe wrought by murder and lawlessness (i, 13-30). The story of the Saracen and his daughter Munera (ii, 1-28) illustrates the evils of bribery and corruption in government. How directly this applied is revealed not only in Spenser's prose tract but in many of the letters and documents of the period. In the larger conception of the problem of government, it represents something more serious than lawlessness. Braggadocchio, who claims the victory really won by Artegall (iii, 14, 15; 20-22) represents those who by defamation of others and by self-seeking aim at securing credit not rightfully theirs. Here the historical reference seems to be to the quarrels among the English leaders in 1580; they plotted against each other, sought to thwart all plans for progress, and sent to England letters filled with petty jealousy and malice.¹ The larger significance of the story, including the account of the way in which all the people and even the knights themselves were unable to distinguish between the true Florimel and the false, is to show the danger to the government from men who are selfish and unscrupulous, a danger increased from the fact that the crowd does not accurately judge between merit and pretense. To enforce this distrust of the crowd (*vulgus*), Spenser introduces by way of parenthesis or interlude the story of the giant with scales (ii, 30 ff.), showing that socialistic theories of property and democracy are vain.²

Spenser now discusses the paramount right of the sovereign over all subjects (cantos iv ff.). The historical material is drawn from the events in the north from the uprising of the earls to the execution of Mary. The incident of the two brothers who quarrel over the treasure chest cast on the shore by the waves is somewhat obscure (iv, 4-20). At first sight, it is but another of the minor incidents scattered through the book to illustrate the simplicity of justice;

¹ *Carew Papers*, February, 1581.

² Spenser is not complimentary to the intelligence of the common people (stanzas 33, 48, 51, 52), who are of the type of the rabble in Ibsen's *Brand*. The giant is a demagogue who has ideas about communism and proposes to set right the world. But to his questions about the mysteries of the universe Artegall makes the reply that God gave Job.

other examples being the interesting modification of the judgment of Solomon, where Artegall discerns which of two knights truly loves a woman by proposing to cut her in half and give each a portion (i, 25, 26); the decision as to the true and the false Florimel (iii, 22-24); and the awarding of the horse to Guyon (iii, 35). But the incident is apparently founded on fact, since it refers, I believe, to the story of Northumberland's claim of treasure cast ashore in his jurisdiction in 1560, and possibly also to his claiming of the custody of Mary on the ground that she had landed in his territory.¹ In 1566 Parliament refused to sanction the Queen's claim to minerals wherever they might be found, thus recognizing Northumberland's objections to the attempt of the Queen to mine copper at Keswick.² Spenser probably means to assert the right of the Queen to lands, leavings of the sea, which had been discovered by her mariners, and the passage should be compared with his defense of Raleigh's projected expedition to Guiana (IV, xi, 22) and with the references, in *Colin Clout*, to Elizabeth as the Queen and to Raleigh as the Shepherd of the Ocean.

In the episode of Radigund, the great rebellion of the earls is again made use of, this time through the fact that Grey was concerned in it in some degree. Apparently Spenser attributes Grey's sympathy for Mary to the influence on him of her personal beauty (v, 12; vi, 1; viii, 1). By far the most interesting aspect of the case, however, is the application to Ireland. It will be remembered that Artegall, disarmed by the beauty of Radigund, is made to assume the dress of a woman and to perform the menial tasks of a woman (v, 23-25; vii, 37-41). With this should be compared the sad state of Turpine, found by Artegall in the power of women, his hands tied behind his back (iv, 22). Here we have an arraignment of womanish methods applied to the solution of the Irish problem; Artegall clad in woman's garments and with a distaff in his hand is a fit representative, says Spenser, of the course advised by some.

The story of Samient (viii) introduces more specifically the attempts of Philip to undermine the power of Elizabeth. She represents Ireland, and serves Mercilla, who represents Elizabeth's

¹ Pollard, *Polit. Hist. of Eng.*, 1547-1603, 278 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 282.

gentleness and mercy as Britomart represents her might.¹ Mercilla is in danger from the machinations of a mighty man

That with most fell despight and deadly hate
Seekes to subvert her crowne and dignity,
And all his power doth thereunto apply.

Ne him sufficeth all the wrong and ill
Which he unto her people does each day;
But that he seekes by traytous traines to spill
Her person, and her sacred selfe to slay;
That, O ye Heavens, defend! and turne away
From her unto the miscreant himselfe;
That neither hath religion nor fay,
But makes his God of his ungodly pelfe,
And Idols serves: so let his Idols serve the Elfe!

[Stanzas 19, 20.]

Here is a pretty accurate picture of Philip: his secret plotting against England; his trust in his riches, an allusion to the vast stores of gold secured from the American voyages; his idolatry. The Saracens sent to destroy Samient represent the Spanish expeditions designed to wrest Ireland from England, one of which Grey destroyed at Smerwick. The triumph of Arthur over the Soldan prophesies the end of Philip.

The allegory is continued in the next canto in the account of the capture of Guile, described like one of the wretched outcasts that continually warred on the English in Ireland (ix, 8-11); his den, his flight, his many changes of form (ix, 12-19) give a vivid picture of the difficulties encountered by those who tried to stamp out the rebellion of the natives. It is noticeable that neither here nor in the story of Irena, nor, indeed, in any of the tracts dealing with the subject do we find Ireland identified with these outcast natives. To Spenser and his contemporaries Ireland is the fair realm to be made fit for habitation as a part of the English domain; the "wild Irish" do not enter into the calculation except as they may benefit by the peace that is to follow the subjugation of the rebellious

¹ Cf. viii. 17:

And strongly beateth downe
The malice of her foes, which her envy
And at her happiness do fret and frowne;
Yet she herselfe the more doth magnify,
And even to her foes her mercies multiply.

chiefs and the casting-out of Spain. But in England itself would the lower classes have received a whit the more consideration in Spenser's time? And what of Fielding's and Goldsmith's accounts of the miseries of the poor and the injustice which they found in the courts and prisons of the eighteenth century? And Dickens? Why pour vials of wrath on Spenser's head for not being two or three centuries in advance of his time in respect to the doctrine of the equality of men?

The object of this lengthy analysis of the political allegory in the fifth book has been to show how admirable is Spenser's method and how complete his interpretation of contemporary history. The remaining cantos, dealing for the most part with the execution of Mary and the intervention in the Netherlands, require no special treatment; their excellence is apparent to any reader. There is, for example, the brilliant apology for the execution of Mary. In the seventh canto, Britomart, representing Elizabeth as the sovereign power of the nation, slays Radigund (Mary the seducer) without compunction; in the ninth, Mercilla, queenly but gentle and merciful, reluctantly passes judgment upon Duessa. Again, Prince Arthur, personifying the nation as distinct from the sovereign power, is at first inclined in Mary's favor, but is convinced by the evidence against her that no other course is possible. Artegall is no longer Lord Grey, but the Justice and Power that accompany sovereignty, unswayed by prejudice, and really sentences Duessa to death, because Mercilla

Though plaine she saw, by all that she did heare,
That she of death was guiltie found by right,
Yet would not let just vengeance on her light:
But rather let, instead thereof, to fall
Few perling drops from her faire lampes of light;
The which she covering with her purple pall
Would have the passion hid, and up arose withall.

The Legend of Justice is a charming romance, and its moral allegory, less academic and symmetrical than that of the first book, answers to the fondness of the Renaissance for the epic of the perfect man. But it is much more. The most important events in the history of Elizabeth's development of a powerful government are treated, not baldly and incoherently as in the chronicles, but in an

allegory that unifies and interprets. It is not of our modern type of philosophical history any more than it is modern chronicle, but it illustrates in a high degree that Renaissance tendency to interpret life by means of symbols so apparent in their sonnet, pastoral, novel, and epic. Finally, it possesses a higher interest even than these. The Renaissance created the State; it also produced many treatises on the theory of the State. In England this new interest was manifested not only in such books as *Utopia* or the *Booke of the Governour*, or in the translations of Machiavelli and collections of similar political axioms, but also in romances like *Arcadia* and the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene*. Fulke Greville says of Sidney's purpose in writing his novel: "In all these creatures of his making his intent and scope was to turn the barren Philosophy precepts into pregnant Images of life . . . lively to represent the growth, state, and declination of Princes." This comes very near anticipating Bolingbroke's famous saying, "History is Philosophy teaching by example," and both these aphorisms apply with surprising accuracy to this Legend of Justice. The whole book treats of the danger to England from Spanish aggression; of the need of centralization of power in the sovereign coupled with the inflexible manifestation of that power in dealing with plot and rebellion; and of the right of the Queen to rule the seas and to interfere in behalf of the oppressed people of the Netherlands. Each minor adventure leads toward the climax in the triumph of authority, showing how lawlessness, bribery, selfish quarreling and jealousy among the leaders, the danger from womanish theories of mildness, all contribute to thwart the purposes of the ministers of the sovereign. The story of Ireland's thralldom is twice told, in the accounts of Samient and of Irena; the might of the Queen and the awakened spirit of England combine to free her. Again, the story of Mary's fall is twice told, with consummate skill in its representation of Elizabeth as the personification of English sovereignty and in that other trial scene wherein Elizabeth the woman weeps that she must doom a sister to death. The story of the relief of the Netherlands is also presented in two aspects: as another illustration of the all-embracing tyranny of the Spanish monarch, and as a proof of the dawning sense in the English nation of the duty to aid a weaker people in distress. At the end of the book,

in the story of the hags Detraction and Envy and in the hint of the ravages of the blatant beast of Scandal,¹ the theme descends from lofty philosophy to become intimate and tender in the story of how the faithful servant of the Queen returned unhonored, unthanked, and broken-hearted. Here in truth is a turning of the barren precepts of philosophy into pregnant images of life, a life not merely of men and measures, but also breathing the spirit of the new imperial England.

II

The *Veue of the Present State of Ireland* is the prose counterpart of the discussion of the Irish problem in the *Faerie Queene*.² I have shown elsewhere that in the main Spenser follows the theories of Machiavelli as to the subjugation of colonies foreign in language, customs, and religion.³ The first part of the tract, which arraigns the life and customs of the Irish, is not materially different from other contemporary accounts; it seems to have been based as much on these chronicles as upon personal observation, or else all observers of the time are singularly agreed in their opinions and in their choice of topics. The curious poem by John Derricke, "The Image of Ireland," published in 1581, may have had some influence on Spenser's tract.⁴ It is a fanciful description of the Irish girls as sirens and the kerns as satyrs; St. Patrick is blamed for killing the snakes instead of the kerns. There is detailed description of dress and manners, and one point in common with Spenser is the attack on the bards as aiming to incite rebellion by their songs praising the wild deeds of their forefathers. The course of action which Derricke thinks

¹ That the blatant beast is Scandal is indicated by a passage in the *Return from Parnassus*, (Arber ed., p. 69): "We are fully bent to be Lords of misrule in the world's wide heath: our voyage is to the Ile of Dogges, there where the blatant beast doth rule and reigne, Renting the credit of whom it please."

² Spenser indorsed it "finyss 1596" and it must have been written very near that time. There is a sarcastic reference to Stanihurst (Globe ed., pp. 632, 633), whose *Plaine and Perfect Description of Ireland*, was published 1586. The reference to the founding of the "new college" indicates a date later than 1591, perhaps later than 1593 (Morley, *Ireland under Elizabeth and James*, 128). Probably Spenser wrote about 1595-96, when the fickleness of the governmental policy had driven men who had to live in the country nearly to distraction. There is a MS dialogue in the Irish State Papers, 1598, which purports to be the work of one Thomas Wilson and is dedicated to Essex. The interlocutors are Peregryn and Silvyn, suggesting Spenser's two sons, and the style is similar to that of the *Veue* (Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, III, 302).

³ *Modern Philology*, October, 1909.

⁴ Reprinted, Edinburgh, 1883, pp. 56 ff., 65 ff.

England should take is also as rigorous as that laid down in the *Veue*: "Rigour is meeteth where clemencie availeth not." The poem, which is in exceedingly crabbed verse, is dedicated to Sidney, and Harvey apparently refers to it in a letter to Spenser in which he speaks of "an uncertayne autor in certayn cantons agaynst the wylde Irishe" who used the same peculiar verse as in *Gorboduc* and the *Steel Glas*.¹ Much of the historical matter in the *Veue* comes from the earlier chronicles: Giraldus Cambrensis, reprinted by Holinshed with continuations by Hooker, Campion, and Stanihurst. Campion dwells on the manners and superstitions, on the Brehon laws, on the custom of redeeming crimes by composition, on the glib, etc., as well as the usual matter about the origin of the people.² This history, originally dating from 1571, was continued in Holinshed by Stanihurst, who wrote an extremely euphuistic dedication to Sir Henry Sidney. There is a dialogue on the subject of snakes which is thus described: "First therefore thou must understand, that his booke is made in dialogue wise, a kind of writing as it is used, so commended of the learned. In these dialogs Irenaeus an Englishman and Critobulus a Germane plaie the parts."³ Stanihurst pays much attention to language, saying that "to this daie, the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English are kept," which he proceeds to illustrate by some not very apposite examples. Spenser ridicules Stanihurst's philology, but he himself makes comparisons between Irish words and some found in Chaucer.⁴ Hooker's account approaches Spenser's in that he proposes a method of dealing with the Irish under the heads "How or by what manner the land of Ireland is to be throughly conquered" and "How the Irish people being vanquished are to be governed." He insists on there being a sufficient force to punish severely all who rebel and advises the English in time of peace to prepare for war; the people are treacherous and to be watched, they are "craftie and subtile"; they should be deprived of arms.⁵

On the whole, a comparison of Spenser's tract with the contemporary accounts and the chronicles proves him to have been a careful student of the subject, not merely a writer who gives impres-

¹ Smith, *Elia. Crit. Essays*, I, 126.

² Pp. 25, 28 ff.

³ Holinshed (ed. 1808), VI, 10 ff.

⁴ Globe ed., pp. 639b, 676b.

⁵ Holinshed, *loc. cit.*, 229-232.

sions of his personal observations. In none of these parallel documents is there anything approaching the thoroughness with which he worked out his plan, subordinating the archaeological matter and the "ripping up of auncient histories" to a clear analysis of the crisis presented by the ascendancy of the O'Neils and the presentation of a theory of procedure based on an accurate understanding of *Il principe*. This plan has been harshly criticized for its cruelty, but a brief statement of the situation in 1595 will show the seriousness of the crisis. Since the recall of Grey in 1582, Burghley had temporized, chiefly in order to save expense. Tyrone, while professing great loyalty, was secretly preparing for revolt. In the early nineties Fitzwilliam, the lord deputy, became alarmed at the developments; he was charged with corruption, but appears to have been a brave man, though no military strategist. He was succeeded in 1594 by Sir William Russell and almost at once the great revolt was on. Tyrone leagued with Spain; Jesuits and seminary priests swarmed into the country. The resident English army was made up of men said to be of the type impressed by Falstaff. Russell's hands were tied by the presence of a special commission. A fiery letter from the Queen complains that the more inclined to mercy she showed herself the more insolent the rebels became; the commission addressed Tyrone as "loving friend" and "our very good lord"; the Queen seemed inclined to trust his professions, though Russell said the only course was to capture him and put him to death.¹ Without going any more fully into the subject it is easy to see that in the conflict of authority and in the difficulties imposed by distance, to say nothing of the rabble soldiery intent only on plunder, things had got to such a pass that it is small wonder that Spenser, a student of affairs for many years, a man thoroughly conversant with the situation and alive to the fatal weakness of the English course for fifteen years of his residence in Ireland, should advise "strong medicine." Frequent changes of administration, each of them rightly interpreted by the Irish chiefs as signs of the incompetence of the government to deal with the situation; equally frequent changes of plan, blowing now hot, now cold, had brought matters to a desperate state. In the mean time the miseries of the poor were

¹ Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Tudors*, III, 261-274.

increased, the country was not developed though a source of enormous expense to the crown, life for the English "undertakers" was not safe, Spain was more anxious than ever before to profit by English incompetence: surely these considerations ought to prove the wisdom of Spenser's advice.

Spenser recorded his convictions on the subject of administration in four lines at the beginning of the fourth canto of the *Legend of Justice*:

For vaine it is to deeme of things aright,
And makes wrong doers justice to deride,
Unlesse it be performed with dreadlesse might;
For powre is the right hand of Justice truly hight.

These lines are not based on academic theory or poetic dreaming, but on actual experience with English administration in Ireland.¹ If it be granted that England could not allow Ireland to become the base of operations from which Philip could move directly against Elizabeth, and if it be granted that the vacillating policy that had been the rule of procedure for many years was preventing real

¹ Space does not permit the citation of more than one or two of the numberless illustrations of the state of affairs brought about by the constant changes of policy. Back in the seventies, a letter to Burghley protests against the delay in sending Sir Henry Sidney, who, it had been announced, was to be the new governor: "Surely, my Lord, the daily looking for a change doth great harm, for during this interim is the greatest spoil committed, because all the ill-disposed now rob and steal, hoping that the new Governor will pardon all done before his time. God send us soon a settled Governor, and such a one as is fit for Ireland, not Ireland fit for him" (Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Earls of Essex*, I, 75). In due course Sidney came, but he had a soldiery whose pay was constantly in arrears, necessitating pillage as a means of existence; he tried to give a vigorous government at first, and then, when he failed of support from London, extirpation of the peasants; when this failed, he begged to be relieved of duty (Innes, *England under the Tudors*, 312). Another instance may be cited, this time to prove that the same trouble extended even beyond Spenser's time: Davies, speaking in 1612 of the failure of England to solve the problem, puts the blame on the faint persecution of the war and the looseness of the civil government, and says that the country "must first be broken by a war before it will be capable of good government: and when it is fully subdued and conquered, if it be not well planted and governed after the conquest, it will eftsoones return to the former barbarism" (ed. Morley, 218). In his summary of the reasons for the failure he included the charge that the soldiers were "governed with the worst discipline that ever was seen among men of war" (228). Thomas Lee, who wrote in 1594 a long "Declaration of Ireland," refers to one occasion when "the said traytors were entreated to accept of their pardon, and had more bestowed upon them for playing the traytors than they demanded before." He accuses Fitzwilliam of bribe-taking and graft, and says that he himself has not had ten crowns of his private pay as a soldier in ten years (*Desid. Cur. Hib.*, I, 117, 137). Froude (*English in Ireland*, I, 36) sums it up accurately when he says that England failed through inability to persevere in any one course; coercion, followed by impatience with the cost, was succeeded by conciliation, and this by anarchy; then the return to coercion and the whole wearisome course over again.

development of the country and was more cruel to the natives than to have the question settled once for all, it is difficult to see wherein Spenser should be censured for the cruelty and barbarousness of his views. The cruelty which he advised was the cruelty of Grant at Richmond and of the English colonial policy in India and of the American subjugation of the Philippines; cruelty indeed, but a cruelty that was the truest kindness if one be disposed to grant the necessity of the subjugation.¹ Moreover, it cannot be denied that the whole problem was partially due to the religious crisis presented by the alliance between Philip and Rome. In the September eclogue of the *Calender* Spenser spoke earnestly of the danger in the Jesuit mission just then beginning; the next year saw the realization of his warning. The attack was threefold: active proselyting by the Jesuits in England, where the argument was boldly used that the patriot would consider church above nation; aid given the cause of Mary, with active efforts to free her; and the instigation of rebellion in Ireland, aided by forces sent from Italy and Spain. Campion bears witness to the fury roused in England by this triple campaign, and says it was due to the ill success of England in Ireland, the work of Spain against England, and the mission of the Jesuits.² Between 1580 and 1584 repeated efforts to assassinate Elizabeth and put Mary on the throne, instigated as they were by Parsons, Allen, and Mendoza, opened the eyes of the government to the seriousness of

¹ Spenser lived in an age marked by cruelty and reflects the character of his time. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a man of noble ideals, God-fearing, learned, valiant, had no mercy for the victims of war. Sir Henry Sidney, a man of similar type, suppressed the insurrection in Munster by the same barbarities as marked Smerwick. Raleigh aided Grey at Smerwick; Grey merely followed the orders of the Queen, and was at first rebuked by the Queen not for the slaughter but for sparing the principals. Moreover, it must be remembered that the tragedy at Smerwick came about in consequence of the landing of an enemy's forces on English territory, and that this enemy was making war not honorably but by the methods of a sneak and a coward. This is as good a place as any to point out the extreme smallness of some of the charges brought against Spenser, such as the carp against his objection to mantles and what he says about the bards. As for the mantles, cf. Davies, ed. Morley, 335; and also the curious entry in the Dublin Assembly Roll, 1594, II, 274, in which the wearing of mantles was forbidden; besides, who could wish to lose the sardonic humor of the reply of Eudoxus to Irenaeus (Globe ed., 632a). As to the bards, contemporary testimony is with Spenser as to the way in which they fomented strife. Of course, it seems a trifle hard that a poet should advise the extermination of brother poets, however richly they may merit destruction; it depends on the point of view however. To some people, moving-picture shows make for vice and immorality, while to others they are noble instruments for the development of aesthetic appreciation among our "lower" classes.

² Simpson, *Life of Edmund Campion*, 243, 244.

the situation; in 1586 the chain of evidence was complete. Allen was made a cardinal in 1587 and Rome promised Philip a million crowns as soon as he landed in England.¹ This was the result of the campaign begun as far back as 1571, when seminary priests, sent by Allen and disguised as mariners and tradesmen, began the work which Spenser had correctly characterized in the *Calender*.²

With the suppression of the Jesuit propaganda and the execution of Mary the chief theater for the operations of England's enemies was transferred to Ireland. After the defeat of the Armada, Philip placed his chief reliance on the attacks on English commerce and on stirring up trouble by the aid of Tyrone. He was back of Tyrone in the nineties as he had been back of Desmond in the earlier revolt. In all this history it is surely evident that England was itself in danger; the war was not merely a battle of religious faiths. Of course, Puritanism had been rather closely identified with Ireland for many years: Sidney was praised by Hooker for his devoutness; his "device of government" was characterized by "religion towards God, obedience to the Prince, the peace of the people, and the well-government in all things touching the commonwealth"; in his family he had "dailie exercise of praiers, both earlie and late, morning and evening, neither would he have anie to serve him who was not affected to religion and of an honest conversation. Atheists and Papists he detested, dronkards and adulterers he abhorred, blasphemous and dissolute persons he could not abide."³ Grey reported his

¹ Pollard, pp. 386-403.

² See Blunt, *Reformation in England*, II, 458. Cf. also the letter of November 6, 1577, from Sanders to Allen (*Domestic Cal. 1547-80*, p. 565) in which it is said that the pope would send two thousand men to Ireland, "the state of Christendom dependeth on the stout assailing of England." That Leicester was convinced of the danger, perhaps in part by Spenser, is shown by his letter of September 5, 1582 (*Cal. Domestic 1581-90*, p. 69): "Her majesty is slow to believe that the great increase of Papists is of danger to the realm. The Lord of His mercye open her eyes!" Largely through Walsingham and Leicester the reprisals on the Catholics were heavy; Grey, following orders from London destroyed the Italian and Spanish forces at Smerwick in 1580; Campion reported the next year that the prisons were full of Catholics; heavy penalties were prescribed in the act of 1581 "To retaine the Queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience"; Campion was executed and Parsons, styled a "lurking wolf," was driven out. Of course it is true that some of this zeal was because of the money to be seized from the Catholics; see the note (*Cal. Domestic*, p. 566) about one William Meredith, "an horrible Papiste, and esteemed to be worth fifty pounds."

³ Hollinshed (ed. 1808), VI, 401. It would be easy to multiply examples of the strong Puritan element, almost precisely like that of the seventeenth century, in the chronicles and letters dealing with the Irish question. Without doubt, many Puritans settled there. But Pollard (*Political History*, etc., 418) is wrong in saying that Burghley

victory at Smerwick: "The Lord of Hosts hath delivered the enemy to us." Hooker's style is strongly biblical: "They [the Irish] doo nothing but imagine mischiefe, and have no delite in anie good thing. They are alwaies working wickedness against the good and such as be quiet in the land. . . . The waies of peace they know not, and in the paths of righteousness they walke not. God is not knowne in their land, neither is his name called rightlie on among them. Their Queene and sovereigne they obeie not, and hir government they allow not; but as much as in them lieth doo resist hir imperiall estate . . . such is the hardness of their heart that with the rod it must still be chastised and subdued."¹ In his summary of his history he names as the special points wherein England has suffered injustice in Ireland the establishment of anti-Christian religion, the depriving of her Majesty of her imperial crown of the realm of Ireland, and the interference of Spain.² But it cannot be said that Spenser's tract betrays any Puritanical zeal; his arraignment of the wicked and illiterate priests reflects the mood of the earlier eclogues and does not indicate any conception of the war as a holy war; to him Duessa was more the plotter against the Queen than the representative of Antichrist. In fact, Spenser speaks with scorn of the Puritan predilection for plain and bare churches, and, in the *Faerie Queene*, is far from complimentary when he compares the sect to the Crab, who

Backward yode, as bargemen wont to fare
 Bending their force contrary to their face,
 Like that ungracious crew which faines demurest grace.³

once suggested Ireland as a resort for Puritans, desiring to rid England of a troublesome faction. He refers to the discussion on the "present state of the realm of England," an abstract of which is found in *Domestic Cal. Addenda, 1566-79*, p. 439; these proposals advised the association of the nobility and others in a society for the defense of the gospel and preservation of the state and the Queen's person; the formation of a society of one hundred "gentlemen of religion" for five years to have charge of three thousand men "in case of peril"; the sending of such Protestants as did not like the Queen's form of religion to Ireland, thus delivering the realm from the "precise ministers and their followers." Burghley indorsed this as a "Discourse sent from Tho. Cecil to me, wryten by Mr. Carleton . . . to suffer the precise sort to inhabit Ireland." But he makes no comment on it.

¹ Holinshed, VI, 369. Other illustrations of the biblical influence upon Hooker's style are found at pp. 383, 460, etc., and in his dedication. This subject merits consideration from students of English prose style of the sixteenth century.

² Holinshed, VI, 459.

³ *Faerie Queene*, VII, vii, 35.

The truth of the matter is that the vituperation and abuse that have been poured forth upon the *Veue* are based on two misconceptions: it is regarded as an example of religious intolerance, being due to Spenser's hatred of the Irish because they were Catholics, and it is read without proper regard to its historical setting. How far the first is from being just may be seen by anyone who will take the trouble to read what the author has to say about religion. His quarrel, he distinctly says, is not that they are Papists, but that they are such bad Papists, being "soe blindly and brutishly enformed (for the most part) as that you woulde rather thinke them Atheistes or Infidells." "I doe not blame the christening of them, for to be sealed with the marke of the Lambe, by what hand soever it be done rightlye, I hold it a good and gracious work."¹ He blames those priests who dwell beyond seas with the Queen's professed enemies and "converse and are confederate with other traytors and fugitives which are there abiding."² He protests against the plotting of the emissaries from Douay and elsewhere, which he says is more openly carried on in Ireland than in England, where stern measures of repression have been taken.³ As to the second point, I have tried to show by reference to other tracts and documents the reality of the danger to the crown that Spenser repeatedly refers to. He praises Ireland as being goodly and commodious, but fears lest God has reserved it for some secret scourge which shall by her come into England.⁴ His defense of Grey is based on the altogether incontestable ground that the prisoners at Smerwick were not "lawefull eneymes," being sent by enemies of England "into another Princes dominions to war."⁵ The common people are not to blame for their course, for they are the tools of the rebel chiefs; Tyrone owes his power to the encouragement received from "the greatest King of Christendome," as well as from the "great fayntness in her Majesties withstanding him."⁶ The advice he gives is to send tried soldiers, well paid and well commanded, to capture the rebel chiefs; then to send colonies of Englishmen to settle the country, after scattering the Irish so that they may no longer be subject to the ambitious chiefs or the comfort of Spain; this done, to give the laws and settled policy that will bring peace

¹ *Veue*, Globe ed., 646a.

² *Ibid.*, 621a.

³ *Ibid.*, 680a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 609a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 656a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 658a.

and prosperity to English and Irish alike. He has no hatred for the country; it is no wild and forbidding place, but rather "a most beautifull and sweet cuntry as any is under heaven, seamed throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sortes of fish, most abundantly sprinkled with many sweet Ilands and goodly lakes, like little Inland Seas, that will carry even ships upon theyr waters, adorned with goodly woodes fitt for building of houses and shippes, soe commodiously, as that yf some princes in the world had them, they would soone hope to be lordes of all the seas, and ere long of all the world."¹ Here speaks the imperialist, longing to see so fair a land reclaimed to ancient glory,

When Ireland florished in fame
Of wealth and goodnesse, far above the rest
Of all that bear the British Islands name.²

III

From her accession to the year 1588 Elizabeth's policy had of necessity been defensive. With the execution of Mary, however, and the humbling of Philip's pride, the party represented by Walsingham, Raleigh, and Drake became insistent that a bolder national course should be followed. With the great increase of interest in travel and the knowledge that rich territories might easily be brought within British dominion, to say nothing of the success Philip had attained in making his colonies pay the expenses of his wars, they found public opinion gradually coming to their views. But Elizabeth and Burghley still hesitated. The "forward school" urged that the victory over the Armada be followed up by increasing the navy and planting colonies in opposition to those of Spain. Had this course been followed, England would not have been so handicapped

¹ *Veue*, Globe ed., 616b.

² *Faerie Queene*, VII, vi, 36. As is well known, these cantos on mutability perhaps refer to the constant changes in the English policy, which prolonged the struggle. That Spenser here and in the *Veue* was in exact accord with so capable and farsighted a man as Raleigh is seen in the account of Raleigh by Edwards (I, 104): "He was often called into council in relation to these affairs of State and government in Ireland, and was always of one mind about them. His face was set, as flint, against piddling interferences and temporizing expedients in dealing with great evils. To cut the tap root, rather than to spend precious time in pruning the branches, was his maxim." It is also worth noting that in this respect of strong medicine both Raleigh and Spenser differed from Burghley, as they differed from him in other points. See Burghley's letter to the Queen. *Hatfield House*, II, 308-10, in which he advised extreme mildness.

in her later attempts at colonization, and the terrible expense of the Irish campaigns of the nineties, due once more to Philip's plotting, would have been saved. The most that the Queen would allow, however, was piracy under government protection; one finds nearly all the projects presented to the Queen during this period stressing the possibilities of securing rich booty. Men like Walsingham and Raleigh saw the larger possibilities in founding a new empire beyond seas, but Burghley was not a statesman of that type. After the death of Burghley, his son Robert inherited his power and his policies; madly jealous of Raleigh and Essex, he blocked all plans for progress.¹

Throughout the most critical years of this period, from 1579, when the Alençon marriage was imminent and the active campaign of Rome and Spain in England, Scotland, and Ireland was beginning, to 1595, when Elizabeth, confronted by the results of Spain's plotting in Ireland and by the fact that her great rival was stronger than ever on the sea and in the possession of colonies that were rich sources of supplies, became convinced of the need of a more vigorous policy, the course of Spenser was absolutely consistent. In the earlier period he stood with Leicester and Sidney; later he gave the support of his literary genius to Walsingham and defended the memory of Grey; in the nineties he agreed with the colonial policy of Raleigh and Essex. I am well aware of the danger in thus comparing the visions of the bard of fairy-land with the deeds of men who, like him, saw visions of England's destiny but who risked their lives and fortunes to make these dreams realities. In the flush of youth, when he was received into the brilliant circle at Leicester House, I am convinced that Spenser meant to be a man of action as well as a writer of verse; no doubt in the later years when far distant from the court he wrote the epic that his friends were living he often felt the ineffectiveness of his life. Like Sordello, prevented from being a man of action, he sought through the imaginative interpretation of heroic deeds to realize, in some sort, his ideal. Drake, it has been finely said, was an ocean knight-errant, smiting and spoiling in knightly fashion and for a great cause; a scourge of the enemies of his country and of his faith.² And Spenser, looking in his mirror of Shalott,

¹ For the facts on which this summary is based, see Innes, pp. 375-83; Pollard, pp. 414 ff.

² Innes, p. 347.

saw, in reflection it is true, the deeds of these knights-errant and interpreted them. He who reads the records in the calendars of state papers, the letters dealing with the crises and the projects of these eventful years, the journals of returned travelers, can hardly fail of the impression that most of these men had little conception of the vast significance of their work; intrigue and chicanery in dealing with foreign powers, penuriousness and vacillation in dealing with Ireland, greed for gold in every charter granted Gilbert and Raleigh and Drake, marked the policy of Burghley. A few men conceived, perhaps prematurely, an England greater than any continental power, and to these men Spenser gave his genius and his pen.

Fulke Greville's account of Sidney is less a biography than a record of conversations. From these we may get an idea of the topics that were discussed when Spenser was on intimate terms with his first idol. We are repeatedly told of his sense of the danger from Spain and the folly of temporizing;¹ he saw that Philip's power rested largely upon the richness of his mines in America;² he advised open attack on Philip himself and indirect attack by fetching away his golden fleece;³ to him Elizabeth was the Queen of the Seas, and should keep a strong fleet upon her ocean;⁴ as a natural consequence, England should herself establish colonies abroad.⁵ The revelation which these pages give of a man whose range of thought and knowledge and whose grasp of great problems of government were so remarkable helps to make clear how extraordinary must have been the contagion of his character. Every one of these leading ideas was reflected by Spenser. Every one of them was contrary to the settled policy of Burghley.

Next to Sidney, Raleigh had the greatest influence on Spenser's political opinions. When the company of shepherds asked Colin to tell the subjects of the songs exchanged between him and the Shepherd of the Ocean, he told a modest story of the loves of the Bregog and the Mulla, and then told of his friend's joy at being again in the good graces of that Cynthia who was Queen of the Seas:

¹ Reprint of the first edition by the Caradoc Press, pp. 32, 33, 62, 83, 85 ff.

² P. 65.

³ Pp. 67, 76.

⁴ P. 70.

⁵ Pp. 78, 81-85, 88, 89, etc. It will be remembered that Sidney was sent to Holland to prevent him from accompanying Drake.

For land and sea my Cynthia doth deserve
To have in her commandement at hand.

There is no need to outline Raleigh's great achievement, in action and in his writings, toward the making of an imperial Britain; Spenser's name for him, the Shepherd of the Ocean, is at once a stroke of genius and a proof of understanding and sympathy that outweighs any tract on colonial expansion that the poet could have written. All these men were students of government. Gilbert early gave himself to "studies pertaining to the state of government and to navigations."¹ In the *Arcadia* and in the conversations reported by Greville, Sidney gave proof of his interest in large problems. In the "Maxims of State" in which Raleigh summed up his conception of these same problems we have a work drawn, like Spenser's *Veue*, from *Il principe* and laying down exactly the same principles which Spenser maintained should govern the course of England with respect to Ireland.²

Besides the references in *Colin Clout*, Spenser gives other evidences of interest in the English vikings and in the development of colonies. The eloquent passage in the *Veue* has already been cited.³ The allegory of the two brothers and the dispute about the treasure chest, with the conclusion that lands set apart from other lands by the power of the sea belong to him who seizes them, seems to be a justification for the right of discovery.⁴ That Spenser read with interest the accounts of the journeys to lands formerly unknown is proved by the stanza about the "hardy enterprize" through which daily "many great regions are discovered."⁵ Moreover, he saw in his own epic the reflection of the journeys of these travelers through uncharted seas:

Like as a ship, that through the Ocean wyde
Directs her course unto one certaine cost,
Is met of many a counter winde and tyde,
With which her winged speed is let and crost,
And she herselfe in stormie surges tost;
Yet, making many a borde and many a bay,

¹ Hooker, in Holinshed (ed. 1808), VI, 368.

² Oxford ed. of the *Complete Works*, VIII, 1 ff. Cf. also his *The Cabinet Council*, containing the *Chief Arts of Empire and Mysteries of State*, published by Milton.

³ At p. 19.

⁴ *Faerie Queene*, V, iv, 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, proem, stanza 2.

Still winneth way, ne hath her compasse lost:
 Right so it fares with me in this long way.
 Whose course is often stayd, yet never is astray.¹

In all this mass of literature, written through the fifteen most eventful and critical years of Elizabeth's reign, is revealed a course unswerving as it is lofty. I have elsewhere alluded to the folly of supposing that *Mother Hubberds Tale* was called in because of Burghley's jealousy of a brilliant young poet who dared resent his failure to secure a good appointment.² The present study, I think, throws further light on the reasons for Spenser's hatred of the great chancellor. To Spenser, Burghley represented Machiavellism according to Gentillet; the craft and temporizing and deceit of politicians of this school was abhorrent to his high-souled idealism as it was to Sidney's. This hatred was expressed not only in the *Tale* but throughout the *Faerie Queene* and in *Colin Clout*. In a time when references to political subjects were exceedingly dangerous, when certain passages in Holinshed alluding to Ireland were canceled and when even such a work as Drayton's metrical version of the Psalms was recalled,³ it required courage of a high order to write as Spenser wrote. Moreover, he did not hesitate to rebuke Burghley in a way impossible of misunderstanding, as the splendid defense of love in the proem to the fourth book of the *Faerie Queene* proves. Artegall's censure of Bourbon refers directly, of course, to Henry of Navarre, but it is noticeable that the policy that he censures,

To temporize is not from truth to swerve,
 Ne for advantage terme to entertaîne,

represents also the very element in Burghley's political philosophy that Spenser detested.⁴ Even the sonnet addressed to the Lord Treasurer on the publication of the *Faerie Queene* contains no compliment, and is subtly defiant. Spenser's course was consistent and manly; he was not, like Dryden, ready to change his politics and his religion wherever there was hope of personal gain; his attack on

¹ *Faerie Queene*, VI, xii, 1. Cf. also I, xii, 1 and 42, and compare the references to his course through Faerie Land in VI, proem, 1 and elsewhere. The simile of the ship is also applied to Guyon, II, vii, 1.

² *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XXV, 560.

³ Sheavyn, *Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, 45.

⁴ *Faerie Queene*, V, xi, 56.

Burghley was due to ideals of government and conduct which he held throughout his life, not to wounded self-love.

Taken as a whole, these writings of Spenser's present an interpretation of Elizabethan political idealism without parallel elsewhere. To regard him as a "functionary" of Leicester, of Essex, or of any other man, or to regard him as a morose and disappointed applicant for the favors of the great, is wholly unjust. Those who find in him the master of a sweetly flowing verse that has made him the "Warwick of poets" shall have their reward. But he was more than this. Dreamer of dreams, Galahad of the quest for Beauty, he was also of good right a member of that little group of men who saw beyond the welter of court intrigue and petty politics the glorious vision of an imperial England. He had his limitations, it is true; at first sight he seems to fail to realize the idea of the nation in the larger sense; one does not find in him the passionate love of native land that quivers through the lines attributed by Shakspeare to the dying John of Gaunt. His loyalty is personal; he conceives the State as Machiavelli conceived it; to him the Prince is the State. Yet on the whole, the two great poets who were the glory of Elizabethan England are of one accord. The splendid lines of Faulconbridge defying a conqueror to set foot on British soil breathe the spirit that animates all Spenser's work, and the England of Gaunt's adoration was to the poet of allegory his sovereign lady queen.

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STUDIES IN THE FORNALDARSÖGUR NORÐRLANDA

[Continued]

I. THE HRÓMUNDAR SAGA GRIPSSONAR

4. *The Scandinavian ballads on Ramunder.*—That the Swedish ballad about Ramunder was related to the Hrómundar saga had already been recognized by Björner.¹ This opinion, called in question by Müller,² was confirmed beyond a doubt by the publication of the Norwegian version³ and by Grundtvig's publication of all the Danish versions.⁴ Of this ballad there exist in all four main versions: 2 Danish (Grundtvig's 27 and 28 which we may call A and B, respectively), 1 Norwegian (Landstad's 16=C), and 1 Swedish⁵ (=D). A is preserved in Karen Brahe's folio-manuscript from 1550-60 (=A1), in Rentzel's manuscript from 1560-80, varying slightly from the preceding (=A2), and in Vedel's printed collection from 1591 (=A3), which is apparently based upon A2 and may be neglected. B is known only from Anna Basse's manuscript from the beginning of the seventeenth century; C was taken from the oral rendition of Olaf Glosimot in Siljord, Telemarken, evidently in 1848 (cf. Forord); while D in the form printed by Arwidsson is from MS 122 in Bergshammar's collection. This volume, in a hand from the middle of the eighteenth century according to Arwidsson (p. viii), contains "Kämpavisor" in his opinion largely copied from printed originals.⁶ This last version was through printed broadsides, etc., widely known, not only in Sweden, where it is mentioned by Björner as early as 1737, but also in Denmark, where printed broadsides of it from 1710 and later years are preserved, through the medium of which it also became known in Norway. There has been, so far as I know, no serious attempt critically to determine the relationships of these four versions to each other and to the older Icelandic material. Such an attempt must obviously set out from the

¹ *Nordiska Kämpadater*, 1737, note to Hrómundar saga, p. 19.

² *Saga-bibliothek*, II, 550, 1818.

³ Landstad, *Norske Folkeviser*, No. 16; I, 189 ff., 1853.

⁴ *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, Nos. 27, 28; I, 358 ff., 1853.

⁵ Arwidsson, *Svenska Fornsånger*, No. 12; I, 114 ff., 1834.

⁶ The last number in this MS bears the date: November 20, 1700.

notes offered by Grundtvig in his introductions and critical apparatus to Nos. 27 and 28.¹

In the first place the ballads may at the outset be divided into two groups: of the first group A (*Rigen Rambolt og Aller hin stærke*) is the sole representative; B, C, and D belong together. The clearest evidence of this relationship is to be found in the episode of the making of the hero's clothing, which in A follows the contest with Aller, but in the other versions forms the beginning of the ballad. Now in the Icelandic rímur (*Griplur*) the beloved of Hrómund (*Svanhvft*) is not introduced at all until after the contest with Dráinn (*Griplur*, IV, 8 ff.), and it may then be affirmed as certain that the episode or episodes of the Icelandic source which have given rise to this characteristic episode of the ballads were not at the beginning; i.e., that the ballad A corresponds here more closely with the Icelandic original and in so far represents more faithfully the older form of the Scandinavian ballad, while B, C, and D collectively represent a younger revision, in which the cutting of the clothing has assumed greater importance and been transferred to the beginning. If this conclusion from the contents of the ballad admitted of any doubt, this is entirely dispelled by a stylistic point of a striking and important nature. All records of A show, though the refrain of 1 differs from that of 2 and 3, at any rate a uniform refrain following all the stanzas, as is the almost invariable usage of the older Scandinavian ballad. B, C, and D agree in showing an innovation, a refrain that changes from stanza to stanza. This latter fact has not escaped the notice of Steenstrup, to whose treatment of the whole subject in his book on the Danish folksongs² I can refer. In this particular case he has unfortunately failed to note the relationship of A to the other group, though he rightly questions the age of the version represented by B. As a matter of fact the case exactly confirms the evidence of the other relatively few cases of this phenomenon found by him, that the version with the changing refrain is in all cases a younger one. Before following out this point of separation and seeking other confirmatory considerations I give in the following table a summary of the contents of the four ballads, showing their agreement and disagreement.

¹ Cf. in addition Vol. II, 654, Vol. III, 800 f., Vol. IV, 763 f.

² *Vore Folkevise fra Middelalderen*, 81 ff., 1891.

A1	B	C	D
1-2.* The daughter of the king in "Opasall" is wise and gives instruction. Many die on her account but contrary to her will.	1. The king's daughter knows everything in world, present and future.		
3-4.* Not far away dwells a prince by name "Adellgröfue." He has seven sons, the youngest of whom, "Ram-bolt," insists upon riding to the king's court to receive instruction of the princess.		1-2. A peasant lives not far away, called "Stein"; he has 12 sons; "Rámund" surpasses all the others. Besides R. are mentioned "Homlung" ("Homle") and "Kdre," as serving at the king's court.	
5.* Taking a steel rod upon his shoulder, R. sets out.	8. The king's men are on ship-board.		5. "Ramunder" starts with 7 ships for the land of the giants.
6*-10. The king sees war-ships approaching and recognizes that "Allerhynd sterke" is coming to land. The latter disembarks and demands the hand of the king's daughter.	9. "Ranild" sees man clad in iron mail rowing toward them.	9-10. A troll, by name "Hölgí Kvass," living in mountain to north, demands hand of king's daughter. Rámund defies him.	6. R. sees 7 giants on strand.
	10. Ranild reproves the steersman for steering like a "crazy man" (cf. A1, 17).		Mutual defiance.
11-12. The king proposes a contest at "Widdriks wold." The challenge accepted.		11-12. Hölgí Kvass, enraged, challenges R. to a contest.	
13. R. prepares his steel club for action.		13. All the courtiers equip themselves. R. prepares his club.	
Aller leaps into the king's boat.		14. Hölgí Kvass strikes at king's banner. All are much frightened.	
14. The king becomes pale with fright.		15. R. kills H. K. with his club.	7. With his sword, "Dymlingen dyra," R. kills all 7.
15-16. R. strikes down A., who springs then into a little boat and comes to land.	11. R. kills 15 warriors and casts them overboard.		

* Stanzas 1-6 are lacking in A2.

A1	B	C	D
17. The king sees from his ship a "crazy man" come sailing toward him.	12. A "little warrior" requests R. to stop while he bails out the blood.	16. R. sees "Trüg-in Üblid, Hölg's svein" come rowing over fjord in iron boat.	
	13-14. The "little warrior" says that his uncle, King "Saxe," had 3 sons, "Adam, Koer, and Ranild."	17. T.Ü. explains that he is looking for his uncle, Hölg's Krass. R. declares himself as his "relative."	
	15. Upon learning that R. is identical with the last, he requests him to follow him to "Thrud's" island.		
18. The latter explains that he is not crazy, but that a "dragon" has robbed him of his gold.	16. The latter person had robbed him of gold, horse, and sword.		
19. The king asks to be directed to the dragon's land.	17-18. The "warrior" demands that R. accompany him to Thrud's island, otherwise he threatens to take his life.		
20. He is informed that wind and waves make it impossible to reach the place.			
21. He proposes making a bridge of his boats (or of trees, A2).			
22. The king promises R., on condition of his overcoming the dragon, the sword "Kaalle-brant" and all the gold stored away by the dragon.			
	19-20. "Thrude af Blide" is on the lookout: he sees R. coming and in his anger tears up an oak tree by roots and casts it in front of ship.	18-19. R. accompanies T. Ü. to mountains, where he is greeted by all the little trolls (Småtrolli).	8. R. sees big giant standing, 50 ells broad and 100 tall,
23. The hero threatens* (Aller) with his steel rod and demands the latter's sword.	21. R. steers straight through the oak, breaking it in pieces.		and defies him.

* A1 is here considerably corrupted and A2 shows better the order of events. The latter (stanza 17) has, instead of "Aller," "bjerget," which is undoubtedly correct. The words are of course addressed to the dragon, not to Aller.

A1	B	C	D
<p>24. The latter says his sword is in the mountain and refuses to give it up as long as he is alive.</p> <p>25-26.* They fight three days; on third "Aller" is obliged to give way before R. R. strikes a hole in the rock (cf. A2, 17 and note to A1, 23).</p> <p>27. R. fights three days with the dragon, killing him finally.</p> <p>28. He takes as much gold as he can carry and returns to "Widriks wold," where he hears news.</p> <p>(A2, 21.† The king of "Opæl" is defeated or slain? "slagen," cf. A3) and "Rim-bolt's" 6 brothers taken prisoners.)</p>	<p>22. R. ascends the mountain and secures sword.</p> <p>23. "Thrude off Blide" attacks him with steel rod.</p> <p>24-25. R. kills his adversary and throws remains into sound.</p> <p>26. R. returns to strand and finds all the war-ships gone.</p> <p>27. He blows in his horn so that it bursts.</p> <p>28. His boat hears the sound, breaks its 9 anchor-ropes and returns to him.</p> <p>29. He sails away with the gold.</p>	<p>20-21. R. kills T. Ú.</p> <p>and all the small trolls with sword.</p> <p>finds gold and shoves off boat into fjord.</p>	<p>9. The giant begs for his life and offers gold and wine.</p> <p>10-12. The battle. R. tears out giant's beard by roots. They trample mountain into mud.</p> <p>Finally R. cuts off his adversary's head.</p> <p>13-14. R. goes into mountain and kills all the small trolls.</p> <p>15-16. R. loads ships with gold and jewels and sails to "keysarens lande."</p>

* Stanzas 25 and 26 are lacking in A2, are obviously superfluous and appear to have been introduced in an attempt to obviate the confusion caused by the introduction of Aller into stanza 23.

† This stanza, so necessary to the context, is lost in A1.

A1	B	C	D
29-30. R. becomes exceedingly angry, takes the sword, "Kallebrand," and after 3 days' fight kills Aller.			
31. The courtiers are playing ball. They jeer at R. because of his wretched clothing.	2. R. takes part fearlessly in tournament at court.	3. R. goes out where the courtiers are playing games and is laughed at because of his scanty clothing.	17-18. R. disembarks and goes where courtiers are playing ball and "gulldrining." All are frightened.
	3. R. complains to his mother of scornful treatment of courtiers and asks her for clothing.	4. R. goes in to his foster-mother and asks her to cut him clothes.	1. R. has poor clothing.
	4. She produces a "blorgarns woff" and sends him to the "young maid" to have her make him clothing.	5-6. She prepares him a fabric woven of nettles ("varpið utaf nosle-ris") and willow-withes ("vefta 'ta viðjeren smá").	The queen gives him new clothing of "bast och blaggarne grofta";
32. The hero sends the princess "hampe-woff" and requests her to make him clothes of it.	5. R. proffers his request.	7. He goes to king's daughter and asks her to cut him clothing.	R. is dissatisfied.
33-34.* The princess laughs and remarks that it is not fitting for him, as he is destined to marry a princess.	6. The "maid" informs him that he does not know what fate is in store for him.		
35-36. She orders for him "sykke och eyndall" and "thett skaarlagen rød," which are better suited for him.	7. She takes a piece of "ifjuist" and cuts him clothes from it and bids him take service at her father's court.	8. She cuts him clothing of silk.	2. The princess ("fröken") gives him new clothes "af silke och sammete fina." R. is better satisfied.
			3-4. R. goes to tailor to have clothes cut: 50 ells are required for breeches and 15 for suspenders, and then they are tight.
37-38.† The hero enters and asks princess for her hand.			
39.† She declares her willingness and fers him to her father.			
40-41.† R. goes to king and asks hand of his daughter.	30. The king and queen are waiting and wondering how they shall share the gold brought by R.		19-25. "Keysaren" looks out of the window and asks who this immense warrior is. R. replies defiantly and with sword, "Dymlingen dyra," cuts off emperor's head so that it flies 15 Spanish miles.
42.† The king is agreeable, provided he has her consent.	R. remarks in refrain that they won't share it.		
43.† The maiden declares that their betrothal was fated before her lover was born.			
44-45.‡ The two are married.			

* These stanzas are lacking in A2.

† Stanzas 37-43 are lacking in A2.

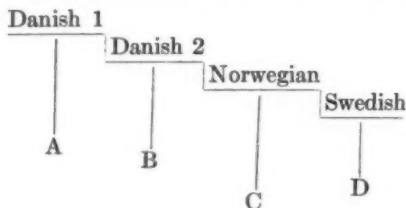
‡ A2 has only one stanza for these two.

The episodes in A follow then in this order: (1) the conflict with Aller hin stærke, (2) the conflict with the dragon and securing of sword and gold, (3) continuation of the conflict with Aller, (4) the making of R's clothing, (5) the marriage with the princess. Now if comparison be made with the Icelandic rímur, it will be noted that these episodes correspond in the same order with the following: (1) the conflict with Hrǫngviðr, (2) the conflict with Þráinn and the securing of gold and sword from his mound, (3) the conflict with Helgi enn frækni, Hrǫngvið's brother, (4) the sewing of Hrómund's wound and his convalescence, (5) the marriage with Svanhvít. In the rímur the conflict of 1 is on the sea, that of 3 on land, or rather on the ice of Lake Venern. That the two brothers have been united in the ballad in the person of Aller is apparent enough from the inconsistency in the double appearance of this personage and in the description of the fighting as of a mixed nature, partly at sea and partly on land with abrupt and unexplained transitions.¹ Now if we take B (*Ungen Ránild*) as representative of the second group, the episode of the making of clothes has been transferred to the beginning; then follows the sea-fight, next the trip to Thrud's island with the slaying of this monster and the securing of sword and gold, and finally the reception by the king and queen, leaving the marriage with the princess to be inferred. That is, the episodes 1-5 of A occur in B in the order 4, 1, 2; 3 has disappeared altogether and 5 may be inferred or not, as one prefers. This all confirms our thesis, that A is the more original form of the ballad, or at least gives us a more accurate idea of the contents of the original, which were essentially those of some of the main episodes of the *Griplur*.

Before comparing the group B C D further with A it may be desirable to institute a comparison among these and establish what their original contained. Of the three episodes referred to above as 4, 1, 2, all are contained in some form in each of the three versions, but with considerable variation. The making of clothes has now some added features in that the hero's request that clothes be made out of the coarse material brought by him has developed into the making of coarse clothing for him (or simply the buying of the cloth in B) by his mother (B), foster-mother (C), queen (D), the fine clothing

¹ Cf. Grundtvig, *D g F.*, I. 359.

being actually made by the king's daughter¹ (*fröken* in D, in which version tailors have been introduced). The sea trip remains in B, the special victim of our hero being merged in the fifteen slain (stanza 11). The Norwegian version (C) has characteristically made "troll" of the opponents, and the fact of the contest at sea is obscured (see *på leikarvollo*, stanza 12), though the iron boat of stanza 16 is not to be overlooked. Similarly the Swedish version (D) has giants (*jättar*) upon the strand, of whom the hero kills seven. The adventure with the monster in his mound is preserved in some little detail in B, but much abbreviated in C, where it is also brought more immediately into connection with the foregoing episode and decked out in genuine Norwegian fashion with the addition of the "small trolls." The Swedish version (D) has an even more immediate connection with the previous episode and retains the "small trolls," which are killed along with the big giant quite as in C. This evidence of the main episodes of the ballad seems to me to point conclusively to the fact that it had passed from Denmark to Norway and from Norway to Sweden. That in minor points each of the forms has preserved certain original features, as we shall show directly, does not necessarily invalidate this conclusion, as we must remember that neither A nor B are the original Danish versions, nor are C or D the original Norwegian or Swedish ones. Their relationship would then be expressed thus:



I shall next compare the folkeviser with the *rímur*, as probably representing pretty accurately the Icelandic source of the former, indicating more closely in what points they correspond collectively or individually with the *rímur*. The father of the hero (*Gripr* of *rímur*) was according to A1 a nobleman (the name "*Adell-gröffue*" is a perfectly transparent appellative), according to C a peasant,

¹ That the princess herself made the clothes must, in view of the symbolic meaning of the process, have been a feature of the original ballad.

called "*Stein*," living not far from the place where the story was told (A says not far from court). The king is localized only in A at "*Opsaall*" ("*Opsal*"). That the hero had brothers is mentioned also in A and C: according to A1 there were seven sons, of whom *Rambolt* was the youngest; according to C, twelve, of whom *Rámund* was the best. According to the *Griplur* there were nine sons, of whom *Hrómund* was the oldest. A1 and B represent the king's daughter as learned—knowing present and future, i.e., in terms of an Icelandic original she was versed in magic. In the *Griplur* she gives *Hrómund* a shield with magic properties.¹ According to A1 *Rambolt's* purpose at court was to learn of the maid, with which end in view he sets out with a steel rod (*stallstang*) on his back. To follow the exposition of A, the king sees a number of ships coming; it transpires that the leader of the expedition is *Aller hin stærke* and that his purpose is to demand the hand of the king's daughter. The king proposes a contest upon *Widriks wold*, which accordingly takes place. B had mentioned (stanza 8) the preparations for a sea trip on the part of the king and has the meeting accordingly take place on the sea. D speaks also of an expedition over sea to the land of the giants, it being according to C a troll in the mountains to the northward who wished to carry off the king's daughter. *Griplur* has also a sea expedition, the meeting with *Hröngviðr* taking place at a group of small islands (*Elfarsker*). That the opponent is called *Aller* in A must rest upon a substitution of names which it would be futile to attempt to explain. The *Widriks wold* (or at least the name "*Widrik*") is borrowed from ballads dealing with *Diderik* and his heroes.² The name of the troll, *Hölgi Kvass*, in C preserves of course the *Helgi enn frækni* of the *rímur*; he belongs, however, there to the later episode, which has been united with the former in the ballads (not yet completely so in A) as noted above. In this land-fight at *Widriks wold*, *Aller*, by a strange inconsistency of A³, springs into the king's

¹ Cf. *infra* the reference to Saxo's *Swanhvita*. ² Cf. Grundtvig, *D g F.*, I, 68 ff.

³ *Widriks wold* belonged originally not to this contest, but to the second with *Aller* (or whoever it may have been in the original ballad), i.e., it corresponded with the contest with *Helgi enn frækni* upon *Vænir* as in the *Griplur*. This fact is apparent not only from the somewhat superficial similarity in the two names and the nature of the fighting, but also from fact that this battle took place according to definite challenge, quite as did that on the ice of Lake Venern in the *rímur*.

boat, frightening him cruelly; the king is however saved by Rambolt, who strikes down Aller, the latter springing into a little boat and coming thus to land. This shows fairly close agreement with the *rímur*, where Hrǫngviðr also leaps upon the king's boat (I, 46) and is killed by Hrǫmund. The explanation of the steel rod above mentioned (sc. also A1, 23) is likewise to be found in the *rímur*, from which it appears that Hrǫngviðr was invulnerable to sword, spear, or arrow (I, 51), and where Hrǫmund also uses a steel club. B has not forgotten this iron rod, but puts it into the hands of the monster Thrud, and lets him attack Ranild with it (stanza 23). In C, Rámund prepares a club for his attack upon Hölgi Kvass. None of the other ballads has preserved the account of this fight in anything like the fidelity of A. In B, Ranild notes a man in armor come rowing toward them; he reproves the steersman for steering like a crazy man and kills at least fifteen of the hostile warriors, whereupon a little warrior begs him to suspend the slaughter until he shall have had time to bail out the blood. This criticism of the steersman appears to have been corrupted under the influence of other ballads from the vigorous exchange of words between Kári and Hrǫngviðr (I, 30 ff.) or Hrǫmund and Hrǫngviðr (I, 55 ff.) in the *rímur*, which is better preserved in C and D. In C, Hölgi Kvass, having demanded the king's daughter, turns to taunt Rámund, who has given expression to the refusal, and challenges him to a contest; the fear of the king and courtiers is described somewhat as in A, but Rámund kills Hölgi with his club. So in D there is an exchange of mutual defiance between Ramunder and the seven giants, whom he sees on the strand. He kills them all with his sword, *Dymlingen dyra*, the sword being introduced prematurely in this version.

The transition to the adventure with the monster has lost the peasant *Máni* of the *Griplur*. In A it is effected by the crazy man, whom the king sees sailing toward him; he complains that a dragon (*draagen*) has taken his gold; the king asks the way to the latter's haunt and proposes to bridge the intervening water by means of his boats; Rambolt is promised the sword *Kaallebrantt* (*Kallebrand*) and all the monster's gold, if he can overcome him. In B it is the "little warrior" above mentioned who proves the informant. He tells Ranild that he is seeking three sons of his uncle, King *Saze*; these

sons' names were *Adam*, "*Koer*," and *Ranild*. His newly found cousin then invites *Ranild* to follow him to *Thrud*'s island. This personage had robbed him of gold, horse, and sword. The little warrior threatens *Ranild* if he does not come with him. In C it is *Trágin Úblið*,¹ *Hölgis svein*, who comes rowing in an iron boat (evidence of his supernatural nature as a troll). He explains that *Hölgi* was his uncle (these statements of relationship all seem to have been corrupted out of the fact that *Helgi* in the Icelandic original was the brother of *Hrǫngviðr*). Hereupon he repairs to the mountain with *Rámu*. and shows him, as his "relative," the small trolls. In D the transition is completely lost, *Ramunder* after disposing of the seven giants he strand going at once to attack the big giant. The fact that B names two brothers of *Ranild* is not without interest; the source of these names is made clearer by a comparison with C. "*Koer*" (B) represents of course the old Norse *Kári*, which is preserved intact (*Káre*) in C. "*Adam*" is obviously a substitution for some old Norse name, nor does the "*Homlung*," "*Homle*" of C help us much here, as this name has itself apparently come in from the list of *Diderik*'s knights.² On the other hand the circumstances under which these two names appear in C betray clearly their origin. The two serve at the king's court and even if we understand the ballad to make them out to be brothers of *Rámund* (as *Grundtvig*, *D g F*, I, 368 does), they are obviously the *Kári* and *Ornólf* of the *rímur*, the two brothers (not related to *Hrómund*) who are distinguished in the king's service (his *stafnbúar*) and who succumb in the conflict with *Hrǫngviðr*. As concerns the name of the sword, the *Mistilteinn* of the *rímur* has been displaced by other names. A's *Kaallebrantt* (*Kollebrand*, *Kolebrand*) is not with certainty identifiable; it forms, however, a perfectly transparent term for sword,³ and may be related to the name of King Arthur's sword *Caleburnus*.⁴ The sword is not named in B and C, but appears in D

¹ That *Úblið* was originally an adjective (=old Icelandic *óblíðr*, just as *Kvass* above =old Icelandic *kvass*) is noted by *Grundtvig* (*D g F*). In B the name has been corrupted into *Thrude* (*Thrud*) aff *Blide*. *Trágin* and *Thrud* are readily identifiable with the *Dráinn* of the *Griplur*. That the "draagen" of A may have originated as a corruption of the same name is noted by *Grundtvig*.

² Cf. *Grundtvig*, *D g F*, I, 71 ff.

³ Cf. S. Bugge in *Grundtvig*, *D g F*, IV, 763.

⁴ According to Geoffrey of Monmouth (cf. *Bretasögur* in *Hauksbók*, 288, 293), *Caledwulch* of *Mabinogion*, see *Grundtvig*, *op. cit.*, and I, 360.

as *Dymlingen dyra*, which Grundtvig¹ compares with the name of Roland's sword, *Dyrendal*.²

The conflict with the dragon is not described in detail in A. We learn here only that Rambolt demanded the sword, but was informed that it was in the mountain, that the contest lasted three days, and that Rambolt after killing the dragon took the gold and sword and returned to Widriks wold. B goes more into detail, even adding a little feature apparently gathered from another source. This version represents Thrude as on the lookout at the sound; upon seeing Ranild he tears up an oak tree by the roots³ and hurls it in the way, but Ranild steers straight into it, destroying it. Ranild then goes to the mountain, secures the sword, is attacked by Thrude with an iron rod, but cuts off the latter's arms and legs, then his head, throwing both head and body into the sound. He repairs to the strand, but finds his ships gone; he blows in his gilded horn, whereupon his gilded ship breaks its nine anchor-strings and comes to him; he packs in the gold and sails homeward. C again passes briefly over this contest. Rámund secures the sword in the mountain as in all the versions, cuts off with it the eight hands of Trúgin Úblið,⁴ finds the gold, and kills Trúgin Úblið and the small trolls as well. D has here certain features not found elsewhere, except, as it appears, in the Icelandic rímur. The big giant, being attacked by Ramunder, begs for its life and offers gold and wine.⁵ Ramunder is however defiant and the wrestling-match follows quite as in the *Griplur*. That Ramunder tears away the giant's beard and the flesh with it appears to show a transfer of the clawing which Hrómund receives from Dráinn in the rímur.⁶ The second round results in the mountain upon which they are standing being quite trampled to mud,⁷ and the giant comments upon the fierceness of the struggle.⁸ It ends in Ramunder's cutting off the giant's head, upon which he goes into the mountain, sees the small trolls weeping, kills them all, packs gold and jewels into his ships, and embarks for the land of the "keysar."

¹ *D g F.*, I, 368.

² Cf. Kahle, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, XIV, 223.

³ Cf. *D g F.*, I, 1115, stanza 21.

⁴ Cf. Starkad's eight hands, *Gautreks saga*, ed. Ranssch, p. 33; Saxo, p. 183.

⁵ Cf. *Griplur*, III, 14-15. ⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 36 ff. ⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 31, 32. ⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 33.

In A, after Rambolt has resumed his fight with Aller at Widriks wold and killed him, follows the episode of the making of the clothing, which, as already stated, is at the beginning of the other versions. A tells it thus: There was ball-playing at the court, where Rambolt's poor clothing was the subject of general ridicule. He requests the maid (king's daughter) to cut him clothing of coarse material. She laughs, says such clothing is not fitting for him who is to become a prince, and makes him clothing becoming his future dignity. In B, Ranild distinguishes himself in a tournament, but finds that his clothing is hardly up to the court standard. He repairs to his mother, who gives him coarse cloth and sends him to the young maid, who will cut him clothing. He goes to the maid and proffers his request. She remarks upon the fate in store for him, cuts him fine clothes, and bids him take service at her father's court, which he does, as described above. C also introduces the courtiers playing games, among whom Rámund's scanty clothing is the subject of general ridicule. He begs his foster-mother to make him clothing, which she does of very coarse material. Hereupon the hero requests the king's daughter to make him clothing. She does so, using silk for the purpose. D remarks at the outset that Ramunder was in need of better clothing (the ball-playing is entirely separate in this version, viz., toward the end in stanza 18, which corresponds essentially with its position in A1). The queen makes him coarse clothing, to which he objects. The "fröken" (evidently the king's daughter, whether she is the same as the daughter of the "keysar" referred to later is not clear in this ballad) gives him finer clothing. The following verses relating how Ramunder seeks out the tailors and has them take his measure is an independent innovation in D, introduced in accordance with its conception of Ramunder's gigantic stature. The origin of this important episode of the making of the hero's clothing is not at first sight clear, as it does not closely correspond with anything contained in the *Griplur*. One is tempted from its position after the last battle and the fact that it necessarily involves sewing, to identify it with that episode in the *Griplur* in which Hrómund is represented as sewing up his wounded abdomen, and there seems little doubt that it has in fact taken the place of that episode of its Icelandic source. That a substitution of some sort was inevitable

is clear enough, if one but compare the standard of taste of the aristocratic Danish audience of the early folkeviser with the Icelandic audience appealed to by the *rímur*—or, in this case, certainly of the earlier audience of the prose source of the *rímur*. But it is not so easy to see just why the substitution should have taken on this peculiar and by no means closely related form. As a matter of fact we must here go back of the *Griplur* to their prose source and its story of Svanhvít and her lover as it is preserved by Saxo,¹ a full account of which will be given in the chapter treating of the sources of the original *Hrómundar saga*. By taking into consideration this story, which is indubitably a source of this episode in the ballads, and remembering besides that the sewing of clothing (or more especially a shirt) for the hero by the maid is in the folkeviser equivalent to a betrothal,² as is the gift of the shield in the *rímur*, the three constituent elements in the source which have together given rise to this divergent episode in the ballads are adequately accounted for.

The concluding episode of the marriage with the king's daughter is, as before said, preserved only in A, though the other versions are not without allusions to it, and all show the preliminary step, the making of the hero's clothing by the princess. Rambolt declares (in A) his love to the princess (*Daddelrun*); she sends him to her father, who declares himself agreeable, if it be his daughter's wish. The latter asserts that it was decreed by fate before her lover's birth that they should marry (this is in accordance with B's statement of the princess' supernatural knowledge), whereupon the wedding takes place. B closes simply with the reception of Ranild by the king and queen and their question how they are to dispose of his gold. C breaks off suddenly with the killing of Trúgin Úblið and the small trolls, while D, after mention of the games at court and the courtiers' fear of Ramunder, tells of the "keysar's" displeasure at sight of the hero; that the latter challenges him and at once proceeds to violence; that the youngest princess and half the kingdom are offered to appease him. He replies, however, that he can take both when he will and cuts off the emperor's head.

Enough has been said to show that, while each of the four ballads contains certain original features as compared with the others, these

¹ Ed. Holder, pp. 42 ff.

² Cf. Steenstrup, *op. cit.*, 268 f.; Grundtvig, *D g f.*, III, 918 f.

are not of such a sort that they cannot be explained in accordance with the relationship postulated above and that the nature of the more essential changes is best explained by assuming exactly that relationship. The evidence from the related refrains of B, C, and D has already been discussed as a means of separating this group from A and one reason for regarding it as secondary to the same. The other cases of varying refrain mentioned by Steenstrup show a precedent or at least analogies for the development of this stylistic novelty on Danish ground. Norwegian and Swedish ballads show, so far as I know, no exactly analogous development, their version of our ballad being in that respect unique and surely not original.¹ A comparison of the three will show further that the Danish has the simpler type of refrain, which has been a trifle enlarged upon in the other cases, more in the Norwegian, most of all in the Swedish:

DANISH (B), 1:

"Ware ieg saa wiis!" sagde Ranild.

NORWEGIAN (C), 1:

*"Aa, deð var no fulla eg,"
sa' han unge Rámund.*

SWEDISH (D), 1:

*"Täcke vill jag inte ha," sade Ramunder,
"Täcke står mig inte bra," sade Ramunder den Unga.*

The nature of the variations noted, especially the splitting into two distinct types, indicates a considerable age for the Danish version (Dan. 1) which we were obliged to postulate as the original type of the ballad.²

Through comparison with the Icelandic rímur we found reason to conclude that while the original ballad (Dan. 1) had as its source material practically the same as that contained in the rímur, the rímur themselves were not this source. If we dismiss altogether the matter of chronological possibility, we have seen that the ballads,

¹ Swedish historical ballads show, among other irregularities, sometimes stanzas of six verses; Arwidsson No. 160 even has verses 5 and 6 formally differentiated. They are, however, not at all analogous to the refrain of our ballad.

² Axel Olrik in an allusion to these ballads (*Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, XIV, 84) recognizes the essential relation of B and A to the Icelandic material of the *Hrómundar saga*. His postulation of a Norwegian ballad as the connecting link in either case is not supported by any reasons given (nor has he so far as I know, accounted elsewhere for this statement), and may in the lack of such be understood as conjectural; it is certainly not in accordance with the facts developed by our analysis and comparison of the ballads.

notably in the matter of the sewing of the hero's clothes, indicate a source prior to the *Griplur*, and it should further be observed that the *rímur* contain certain episodes not alluded to in the faintest way in the ballads. Such are, apart from the rôle of the valkyrie Kára and her death, Blindur enn þólvísi and the search for Hrómund, his concealment, the dreams of Blindur, in fact the whole matter appertaining to the Haddingjar. Now in the Hrómundar saga alluded to in Sturlunga there is evidence of most of the episodes included in the ballads, but none of the episodes connected with the Haddingjar, which moreover are in part preserved in altogether different environment.¹ There is then the greatest probability that the source of the ballad was this Hrómundar saga referred to in Sturlunga, which had ere the composition of the *rímur* received a considerable interpolation from another source. What this source was remains to be taken up in a later paper, while the whole chronological relations of our various materials will be made clearer in the following chapter.

5. *The date of composition of the lost Icelandic Hrómundar saga Gripssonar.*—The most reliable external evidence for the existence of an Old Icelandic Hrómundar saga Gripssonar is found in that often-cited passage of the Sturlunga,² wherein the varied amusements indulged in at a wedding-feast at Reykjahólar in the year 1119 are recounted. There is, it is true, evidence from other sources tending to confirm beyond question the existence of such a saga, though adding little of positive character to what the Sturlunga furnishes us. This statement of the Sturlunga has until recent years been accepted as indisputable proof of the existence of the saga just mentioned as early as 1119, making it the first of the *fornaldarsögur* type of which anything definite is known.³ This interpretation of the passage is rightly called into question by Kálund,⁴ who regards that portion of the Sturlunga in which this statement occurs, viz., the "*Dorgils saga ok Hafliða*," as a work of the twelfth century and suggests that this statement may be an editorial interpolation. As this collection (the Sturlunga) was brought together and edited

¹ Cf. *Helga kviða Hund.*, II, 2-4, and prose at end.

² Ed. Kálund, I bind (1906), p. 22.

³ Cf., e.g., F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, II, 790 ff., 1901.

⁴ *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1901, p. 284 f.

at the close of the thirteenth century,¹ it gives us with certainty only a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the *Hrómundar saga* of about 1300. The statement in question reads as follows in Kálund's critical text:

Frá því er nokkut sagt, er þó er lítil tilkoma, hverir þar skemtu eða hverju skemt var. Þat er í frásögn haft, er nú mæla margir í móti ok látaz ekki vitat hafa, því at margir ganga duldir hins sanna, ok hyggja þat satt, er skrokvat er, en þat logit, sem satt er,—Hrólfr frá Skálmarnesi sagði sögu frá Hrongviði víkingi ok frá Óláfi liðsmanna-konungi ok haugbroti Þráins ok Hrómundi Gripssyni ok margar vísur með. En þessarri sögu var skemt Sverri konungi, ok kallaði hann slíkar lygisögur skemtiligstar, ok þó kunna menn at telja ættir sínar til Hrómundar Gripssonar. Þessa sögu hafði Hrólfr sjálfr saman setta. Ingimundr prestur sagði sögu Orms Barreyjar-skálds ok vísur margar ok flokk góðan við enda sögunnar, er Ingimundr hafði ortan, ok hafa þá margir fróðir menn þessa sögu fyrir satt.

This does not follow, as one would certainly expect, the mention of the relating of sagas in the list of amusements, there intervening a statement of the duration of the festivities, of the annual celebration of *Ólafs messa*, of the fertility of the soil at Reykjahólar, and of the ripening of the grain crop, which very probably formed the original conclusion of the account of the festivities. The fact that our note is appended in this fashion at the end of the narrative instead of occurring in its natural place in the context, together with the whole nature of the note itself, shows it plainly to be an addition of the editor. The editor even apologizes for adding it as being of little importance, stating that it is based upon tradition, which is discredited by many. He states further that this saga had furnished especial amusement to King Sverrir († 1202), calls it a "fiction" (*lygisaga*) and names Hrólfr frá Skálmarnesi, who recited it on this occasion, as also its author. The editor knows also another tradition about Hrómundr Gripsson, viz., that found in the *Landnáma*, as we shall see directly. Now this weighing of the two traditions against each other is exactly paralleled in the *Geirmundar þáttur*, which forms the beginning of the *Sturlunga* and which bears witness in a similar way to knowledge both of the *Hálfs saga* and the *Landnáma*.² Both refer in the same way to *frásagnir* and to conflicting opinions,

¹ Cf. Kálund, *op. cit.*, 298; F. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, p. 739, 1900; Ólsen, *Safn til Sögu Íslands*, III, 507, 1897.

² Cf. F. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, II, 727, 1900.

between which choice must be made. That the statements concerned are those of the same man, viz., the editor of the collection,¹ seems to admit of no doubt, and the value of the evidence must be determined from this standpoint. Kálund is even inclined to doubt² that the note is meant to be taken seriously, and certainly the allusion to King Sverrir has much of the flavor of literary humor, while the fact that the production is definitely called a *lygisaga* seems to preclude any possibility of its having appealed to the author of the note as a venerable *fornsaga*. *Lygisaga* like *lygi* meant in Old Icelandic usage nothing more nor less than a "lie," its present use as a *terminus technicus* for "fictitious tale," "fictitious saga" having originated with modern literary historians. That *lygisögur* (in the present technical sense) were composed in Iceland as early as 1119, or that the conception implied in *lygisaga* can have been seriously extended to any production of that early time is to my mind incredible.³ That the *Hrómundar saga* is on the other hand correctly classed as a *lygisaga*, that it contains not one grain of old heroic legend not transferred from some other source remains to be proven in the chapter dealing with its sources. That the editor of the Sturlunga collection dared stigmatize it thus would suggest that it was the product of a time not greatly prior to his own, i.e., not long before the close of the thirteenth century, nor do I believe that the purely fictitious Icelandic saga can be traced much further back.

The two traditions referred to in the Sturlunga may be designated: (1) the genealogical tradition, and (2) the *lygisaga*. The source of (1) is the *Landnáma*⁴; for the allusion in the *Flóamanna saga*⁵ is merely an extract from the *Landnáma*,⁶ as is also that in the longer saga of Óláfr Tryggvason.⁷ That this tradition of a purely genealogical character presented by the *Landnáma* is older than the *lygisaga* having *Hrómundr* as its hero is apparent from several considerations: (1) The *Landnáma* knew no saga connected with him, so far as can be detected; it gives him merely the prosaic patro-

¹ Cf. his note in *Sturlunga*, I, 119 f.

² *Op. cit.*, 284 f.

³ Cf. also Axel Olrik, *Saksnes Oldhistorie*, I, 12, 1892.

⁴ Ed. F. Jónsson (1900), pp. 6, 131.

⁵ *Fornsögur*, p. 120.

⁶ Cf. mention of *Landnáma* on p. 122, and F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, II, 758, 1900.

⁷ *Plateyjarbók*, I, 248; *Fms.* I, 237; *Landn.*, p. 263; cf. pp. xxxviii ff.

nymic, not the by-name so characteristic of the fornaldarsaga here, and indicates by no word that a saga was attached to his name. (2) The genealogical table does not correspond at a single point with that of the saga, so far as the contents of this are deducible from the *rímur*. (3) The story told by the *Landnáma* of Hrómund's great-grandson, Leifr, and how the latter came to be called Hjørleifr has evidently given the suggestion for a principal episode in the fictitious Hrómundar saga, as will be shown in the chapter discussing the sources of the saga. That the relation should in this point be the reverse, viz., that the *Landnáma* should have transferred a saga connected with Hrómundr to a historical descendant or reputed descendant of his, is from the whole character of the *Landnáma* incredible, and even if such were not the case, the chronological direction of legend-formation is not from the highly exaggerated and supernatural to the relatively simple and natural, but vice versa. The fact that no notice of Hrómundr is to be found in the Old Norse literature in any monument antedating the *Landnáma* (*Sturlubók* dating from the middle of the thirteenth century)¹ must be explained by anyone who would assert that he was the hero of a real fornaldarsaga. Even granting that there may have been some legendary association connected with his name, or for that matter that he cannot be proven to be a historical personage, the fact remains that the saga about him, whose contents are preserved through the *Grip-lur* and Scandinavian popular ballads and which is alluded to in the *Sturlunga*, made use of no such legend, but is entirely a fictitious production of the last half of the thirteenth century, in securing material for which the author had freely plundered heroic legends of earlier date, as we can demonstrate from their preservation in other and older sources. While we know that in many cases it can be proven that Icelandic families attached their genealogical records by one means or another to some hero of fornaldarsaga type,² we have in the Hrómundar saga an example of the very natural corollary, that an ancestor was decked out with a saga made to order. That this is the later stage in the process is evident enough from the nature of the case.

¹ Cf. F. Jónsson, *Landnáma* (1900), pp. lv, xxxix.

² Cf. Vigfússon, *Söfn til Sögu Íslands*, I, 185 f., 1855.

The earliest evidences of this secondary tradition, the *lygisaga* of *Hrómundr Gripsson*, are the nearly contemporary ones of the *Hálfs saga B¹* and *Sturlunga*, both from 1300 or shortly before. The *Hálfs saga* furnishes us only the information of the genealogical connection of *Hrómundr* with *Hrókr enn svarti* (as his grandson), a fact unknown to the *Landnáma*, which had used *Hálfs saga A* (composed in the second quarter of the thirteenth century). The *Sturlunga* (*vide supra*) gives us much more definite information of the contents of this *lygisaga*, which information is quite confirmed by the *rímur*. Its principal episodes included the struggle with *Hrǫngviðr víkingr* and the forced entrance into *Dráin's* mound; mention is made also of *Óláfr liðsmannakonungr*, by which very indefinite title² the necessity of localizing him anywhere is avoided, quite as in the *Geirmundar pátttr*³ the same editor of the *Sturlunga* avoids localizing King *Hjǫrr*, the father of the dark twins. That this original saga did not contain more than these two episodes can, of course, not be proven. That it did contain at least one further episode, in which *Hrómundr* was obliged to measure himself with *Helgi*, a brother or other relative of *Hrǫngviðr*, is indicated by the popular ballads, which very evidently go back to this saga, not to the later *rímur* (*vide supra*). That the love story of *Hrómundr* and *Svanhvít* was included is attested by the same ballads. Both *Sturlunga* and the ballads agree, however, in denying to it the incidents connected with *Helgi Haddingjaskati* and the *Haddingjar*, and this evidence is sufficient to make it very probable that the *rímur* rest upon a revision of the saga, or a later stage in the oral transmission of the same, in which a considerable interpolation had taken place, a version dating without doubt from the fourteenth century.⁴ The ground for such an interpolation would lie in the common name

¹ Cf. my edition (*Altnordische Sagabibliothek*, Heft 14, Halle, 1909), pp. 34, 47, 50 f., 131 f.

² The title is confirmed by the *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *vide infra*.

³ *Sturlunga*, pp. 1-4.

⁴ That sagas of all sorts experienced various revisions or were recorded several times, showing various stages in the oral transmission, is so familiar a phenomenon (cf. Heinzel, *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien; Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 114 [1887], p. 435) that attention need hardly be called to it; cf., e.g., *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, *Óláfs saga helga*, *Jónsvíkinga saga*, *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, *Hervarar saga*, *Órvar-Odds saga*, *Gautreks saga*, *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, *Bósa saga*, *Mágus saga*, etc.; the *Gautreks saga* shows in fact an entirely parallel case, in that the *Víkins saga* has been interpolated in the second version; cf. Ranisch, *Gautreks saga*, pp. xviii ff.

Helgi of the two heroes, evidently the same ground, by the way, which had led to verses dealing with Helgi Haddingjaskati being introduced into the Eddic song having Helgi Hundingsbani as its hero. The idea of such an interpolation appears to have occurred also to Axel Olrik,¹ who also in other respects has taken a more cautious stand upon the antiquity of the *Hrómundar saga*. Witness to the same saga is borne also by the genealogical list in the *Flateyjarbók* (I, 24). This list can certainly not be regarded as older than the close of the thirteenth century, as it has made use of *Hálfs saga B* (or at least the oral form, of which B is a record), wherein *Hrómundr Gripsson* had already been appended to the whole genealogy of *Hrókr enn svarti*. Just how old this genealogical list is can be determined only by a careful study of its sources. It may be said that the bungling way in which the table of the *Haddingjar* (with mention of *Helgi Haddingjaskati*) is made to precede the list of the descendants of *Hálfðan enn gamli*, which forms the real motif of this whole section, and then the whole table of the *Hálfs saga* with *Hrómundr* is made directly to precede the former, though without any genealogical point of contact, leads one to suspect that these additions at the front may not only be very late, but perhaps even reveal a knowledge of the united *Hrómundar* and *Helga* saga (the *Flateyjarbók* was written 1387-94).

Certain other sagas, presumably all of the fourteenth century, also bear witness to the existence of this *Hrómundar saga*, viz., the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*,² the *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar*,³ and the *Gríms saga loðinkinna*.⁴ Of these the second merely connects a king *Dráendr*, eponymus of *Drándheimr* (Tronhjem), with the family of *Hrómundr*: "*Dráendr var mikill höfðingi; hans kona hét Dagmær, systir Svanhvítar, er Hrómundr Gripsson átti.*" With reference to this allusion to our saga there is only to be noted that *Dagmær* instead of *Dagný* corresponds with the best MS (a) of the *Griplur* (IV, 8). The passage in the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* reads as follows: "*Þat er fróðra manna sögn, at annarr sonr Hrólf's hafi verið Óláfr konungr í Danmörk, er Helgi enn frækni herjaði á, en Hrómundr Greipsson veitti Óláfi, sem segir í sögu hans, ok drap Helga; ok þær Dagný ok*

¹ Cf. *Saksen Oldhistorie*, I, 11, n. 2, 1892.

² *Fas.* III, 362 f.

³ *Ibid.*, 519.

⁴ *Fas.* II, 153 f.

Dagbjört væri dætr Hrólfs, er græddu Hrómund, en þat er eigi ritat, hvárt þær vāru börn Ingigerðar eðr eigi." This source has *Dagný*, it is true, but has changed *Svanhvít* to *Dagbjört*; in other respects its *Greipsson* for *Gripsson* is the earliest trace of this error and it furthermore localizes *Óláfr konungr* in Denmark, quite as does the seventeenth-century *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar*.¹ The mention of *Helgi enn frækni* is interesting as confirming the name given in the *rímur* and indicating the rôle played by this hero in the *Hrómundar saga* known to the author (or reviser or interpolator?) of the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*. The statement that it was the two sisters of *Óláfr* who nursed *Hrómundr* back to health and strength tends to prove that the episode of *Hrómund's* stay at *Hagal's*, i.e., presumably the whole matter connected with the *Haddingjar*, had not yet been interpolated into the *Hrómundar saga*. The allusion of the *Gríms saga loðinkinna* reads: "*Ingjaldr fekk þeirar konu er Dagný hét, dóttur Ásmundar, er við Gnoð var kendr, en systir Óláfs liðsmannakonungs; við henni átti hann þann son, er Ásmundr hét, er síðan var fóstbróðir Odds hins víðforla, er var með Sigurði hring á Brávell, er þöru nafni hét Orvar-Oddr.*" Though there is here no mention of *Hrómundr* himself, nor even of *Svanhvít*, there is no adequate reason to suppose that this mention of *Dagný* and *Óláfr* with its certainly late genealogical connection with a personage of the *Orvar-Odds saga* in any way antedates the appearance of this family in the *Hrómundar saga*. Very interesting is the confirmation of the title *Óláfr liðsmannakonungr* as found in the *Sturlunga*. An allusion to the matter of the *Hrómundar saga* in the *Hervarar saga* is, as already Müller had recognized,² the gloss of a single late MS.

From about 1400 the *Skíða ríma*³ recalls "*Dróinn í haugi*" as "*draugr*" and "*troll*,"⁴ as does also a later Icelandic *vikivakavæði*,⁵

¹ It may be stated here that MS *W* of the *rímur* shows also this idea of Denmark as the home of *Óláfr*, viz., in III, 61, where instead of the *nórr í Björgvin* of *a* it offers *aodr við Danmörk*; that its reading is here incorrect is attested by its lack of alliteration, and even the late saga, which we have shown was a paraphrase of a third record of the *rímur*, though agreeing with *W* in its *Dagný*, has here *nórr til sína ríkis* (*Fas.* II, 371).

² *Sagabibliothek* II, 554, 1818; cf. Bugge, *Norrøne skrifter*, 206.

³ Ed. F. Jónsson, *Rímnasafn*, pp. 11 ff., 1905.

⁴ Stanzas 75, 158, 160, 161.

⁵ Ó. Davíðsson, *Íslenskar gátur, þulur og skemtanir*, V, 287, stanza 7.

whose author was well acquainted with the *Skíða ríma*.¹ Not long after 1400 is to be placed the composition of the *Griplur* (*vide supra*), which are in substance a versification of a version of the *Hrómundar saga* into which episodes from a saga of *Helgi Haddingjaskati* had been interpolated. In dating their composition thus we must discard the late tradition that they are the work of *Sigurður blindi*. There is in fact nothing in their language indicating that they are especially young,² and it may be added that their metrical and other stylistic features are in no respect indicative of a late origin. The types of stanzas are, in addition to the familiar *ferskeytt* (I, III, VI), *braghenda* (II), *staðhenda* (IV), and *fráhenda* (V).³ These all occur, however, in a goodly number of the older *rímur*, in case the subject is treated in more than a single *ríma* (the *Völsungs rímur* are an exception) and formal variation from the otherwise monotonous *ferskeytt* seem necessary. That *ríma* II makes use in addition of hending in all three lines of the stanza (*braghenda alhend*) does not bespeak necessarily a greatly younger origin, for this use of hending is merely an adaptation from the familiar technique of the scaldic poetry and may readily have been adopted at any time for the *rímur*. The *Grettis rímur*, which Jónsson⁴ considers as not younger than 1400, show hending in the first line of this same type of stanza⁵ (*Sigurðsson's* No. 19, p. 51). But irregularities in the length of this very line containing the hending, as well as in the others, led Jónsson to infer the relative primitiveness of the *Grettis rímur*. Neither do I find anything in the *mansöngur* which need argue for an especially later origin; in fact I cannot see that any adequate stylistic criteria for relative age within that group of *rímur* designated by Jónsson as the oldest have as yet been established. The manuscript relationships point, as we have already seen, to a composition from the early part of the fifteenth century, and we need have no hesitation, considering the present state of our knowledge of the *rímur*, in assigning the composition of the *Griplur* to the time about 1400. Mention of *Hrómund* in a *kappakvæði* of the sixteenth

¹ Cf. among other things the mention of *Hæðingja-Skíði*, p. 288, stanza 10.

² Cf. F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, III, 40, 1902.

³ Cf. H. Sigurðsson, *Safn til bragfræði íslenskra rímna*, Reykjavík, 1891.

⁴ *Lit. hist.*, III, 41, 1902.

⁵ *Grettis rímur* II, *Rímnasafn*, pp. 49 ff.

century¹ assigns him still the sword *Mistilteinn* and may well rest upon knowledge of the *Griplur*.

Important testimony to the contents of the original *Hrómundar saga* is borne further by the *Andra rímur*, whose prose original was strongly influenced by this work. I can attempt here no critical consideration of this material as the older *Andra rímur* are not yet printed. I shall refer for their general contents only to *Kölbing*,² who had already called attention to one point of similarity.³ *Kölbing* employed, be it said, for his "*Inhaltsangabe*" the later *rímur* by Hannes Bjarnason and Gísli Konráðsson.⁴ The older *Andra rímur* are supposed to have been composed by *Sigurður blindi*⁵ and we may presuppose as their source a *lygisaga* presumably of the fourteenth century, which as just intimated, must have made use of the original *Hrómundar saga*. This is apparent from the following considerations: (1) The *Andra rímur* show various names of the *Hrómundar saga* and these too the characteristic ones, e.g., *Helgi*, *Dráinn*, *Svanhvít*, *Hrómund*. (2) They show similar incidents: the burial mound of the giant *Bolverkr*, who was interred alive, is broken into by a hero and the treasure stolen therefrom; *Svanhvít* and her companion, *Gyða*, visit the battlefield, rescue a hero, and care for him. (3) *Svanhvít's* daughter, *Goðríður*, is wise and no one can gain her hand without a contest: this feature, which in the *Hrómundar saga* must have applied to *Svanhvít* herself, corresponds exactly and strikingly with the statement of the Danish ballad *A*,⁶ which must then also have had it from its original source, the same *Hrómundar saga*. (4) After her husband's departure on a campaign *Svanhvít* dies of grief; when, upon his return, he learns of her death, he seeks entrance to her grave and after some days dies beside her corpse. This, while not absolutely identical, is yet so similar to the story of *Swanhwita's* attachment for her husband as told by Saxo that we must suppose the source of the *Andra saga* to have been here as elsewhere the *Hrómundar saga*, which had employed, as we know, the tradition about *Svanhvít* preserved to us by Saxo.

¹ *Arkiv f. nord. Filol.*, III, 371, 1885.

² *Beiträge*, 231 ff.

³ *Ibid.* (1876), 176 f.

⁴ *Vikreyjar Klaustri*, 1834 (2d edition, Bessastaðir, 1905).

⁵ Cf. Jón Þorkelsson *Om Digtingen på Island i 15. og 16. Årh.*, 284 ff., 1888.

⁶ Stanzas 1, 2. *D g F.*, I, 360.

There still remains one source generally regarded as testifying to the existence of the *Hrómundar saga* in the Icelandic saga period, which I have purposely left to the last because of the very anomalous and doubtful character of its evidence, the *Málsháttakvæði*, as christened by Vigfússon. This has been published by Möbius,¹ by Vigfússon,² by Wisén,³ and finally in diplomatic edition by F. Jónsson.⁴ It is found in Codex Regius of the Snorra Edda written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, in which MS it follows the *Jómsvíkinga drápa* of the Orkney bishop, Bjarni Kolbeinsson († 1222). For this reason and because both bear lyric expression to the experience of disappointed love, Möbius advanced the hypothesis that the *Málsháttakvæði* might also be the work of Bishop Bjarni.⁵ That it was written in along with the other because of this similarity is conceivable enough, but it is no argument at all for its being the work of the same poet. In so far as there is any similarity whatever in the two poems it lies in this one motif, which is typical of the *mansöngur*, a literary type well known in Iceland in the thirteenth century or earlier, as Möbius' examples⁶ show. One could with almost equal right argue that a good majority of the *rímur* were composed by Bishop Bjarni. As to the occurrence of the two on the same parchment of the fourteenth century, that is very far from being an argument for the common authorship. One could with the same right argue that both were the work of Snorri. Now this remarkable poem, whose satisfactory interpretation is still a desideratum of Old Norse literary history, mentions in stanza 7 a *Hrómundr*, who, it has been generally assumed, is the identical Gripsson of our saga. This passage gives us unfortunately very little information; it asserts merely that *Hrómundr* was regarded as "*garpr ok slægr*." Of these two adjectives *garpr* is of no consequence, as it can be applied indifferently to any hero, *slægr* is much less general and might be of value, but unfortunately the *Hrómund* of the *rímur* (and there is no reason to suppose that these do not

¹ *Ergänzungsband d. Zeitschr. f. deutsche Philol.* (1874), 3 ff.

² *Corpus poeticum boreale*, II (1883), 363 ff.

³ *Carmina norræna*, I (1886), 73 ff.

⁴ *Smádykkir udgivne af Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur*, pp. 283 ff., 1889.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff.

reproduce the lost saga in this respect at least) can under no circumstances whatever be called *slægr*. The possibility that it is another Hrómundr in question or that Hrómundr has come in through a textual or other corruption in place of an original other name, e.g., Helgi,¹ must be considered. But in case we insist that Hrómundr is correct and even in spite of all evidence to the contrary that it is Hrómundr Gripsson and no other the author had in mind, the question must still be considered whether the poem is older than 1250, the *terminus a quo* set by us for the composition of the *lygisaga* of Hrómundr Gripsson. An attempt has been made by Eiríkr Magnússon² to prove that the poem was composed about 1300, and, however much some of his contentions may have been weakened by F. Jónsson's reply,³ the positive weight of the latter's arguments fails to convince one that the poem is not Icelandic,⁴ while the contention of Magnússon that the allusion to Eljarnir (Eleazar) must rest upon knowledge of the *Gyðinga saga* (translation by Bishop Brandr Jónsson of the books of Maccabees shortly after middle of the thirteenth century) can hardly be dismissed so lightly as Jónsson would.⁵ As giving any reliable evidence of the existence of the saga of Hrómundr Gripsson before the middle of the thirteenth century this allusion of the *Málsháttakvæði* may then be discarded, while its application to this saga at all is very doubtful and, in case it be accepted, valueless.

The literary history of the saga of Hrómundr Gripsson is then the following: Hrómundr was the reputed common ancestor of the two first permanent Norwegian settlers in Iceland, Ingólfr and Hjörleifr. Tradition made him out to have been a peasant living in Telemarken, in Norway. Sometime during the latter half of the thirteenth century in Iceland he was made the hero of a fictitious saga (*lygisaga*), an adventure previously ascribed to his great-grandson Hjörleifr suggesting one of the main themes. He was genealogically connected with a hero of the *Hálfs saga*, who had come in the latter part of the thirteenth century to play a leading rôle

¹ Cf. *Helga kviða Hundingsbana*, II, 11.

² *Aarbøgger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1888, pp. 323 ff.

³ *Aarbøgger*, 1890, pp. 253 ff.

⁴ Cf. Mogk, *Pauls Grundriss*, II¹, 696, 1902.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 258.

in that saga, and various heroic legends and other literary materials were plundered to fill out the new saga. It became very popular, as frequent allusions, notably that in the *Sturlunga*, show. In the course of the fourteenth century it was drawn upon for material by the author of an *Andra* saga and reached in some way Denmark, where we find it converted into a Danish ballad, which in a later revised form also reached Norway and Sweden. Of this ballad the earliest (Danish) records date from the middle of the sixteenth century. Only in Norway, by a singular coincidence in Telemarken, the home of the original *Hrómundr*, does it appear to have lived on well into the nineteenth century. By the close of the fourteenth century the saga must have received a very material interpolation from a saga whose hero was *Helgi Haddingjaskati*, and this version of the saga was converted into poetic form in the *Griplur* about or shortly after 1400. The *Griplur* lived on through oral transmission for at least a century, as different records of them show, perhaps much longer. With the revival of interest in the older literature which marks the seventeenth century in Iceland, various copies of older MSS were made and a *Hrómundar kvæði* composed, based upon the *rímur*. At about the same time (seventeenth century) a poor copy of the *rímur* formed the basis for a *Hrómundar saga* Greipssonar, which, as well as the *kvæði*, is preserved. In his youthful years the Icelandic poet, Assessor Benedikt Gröndal (1762–1825), is said to have composed *rímur* of *Hrómund Greipsson*,¹ based then apparently upon this seventeenth-century saga, which are, however, not preserved.

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¹ Cf. Sveinbjörn Egilsson, *Kvæði Benedikts Gröndals*, *Víðeyjar Klaustri* (1833), p. iv, footnote 3.



GERMAN ESTIMATES OF NOVALIS FROM 1800 TO 1850

There is no more significant phenomenon in the literary world of the present time than that presented by the revival of interest in the personality and writings of Novalis. His works are now being eagerly read and discussed almost everywhere and new editions of them are constantly appearing. Like many another man of genius, Novalis had to pass through a period of neglect and misunderstanding. There is, perhaps, no other writer of equal fame with Novalis whose public recognition has been so slow and about whom the literary critics have differed so widely in opinion. From the extravagant praise of his contemporaries to the scathing criticism of Young Germany, the controversy over Novalis has raged through many generations. It was not until toward the close of the nineteenth century, when a new movement under the name "Symbolism," or "neo-Romanticism," originating in France and Belgium, began to spread over all Europe, that a widespread appreciation of his works became evident. This increasing appreciation is due, no doubt, to a fundamental sympathy between the poet and the spirit of our age.

Novalis has outlived the generation which made him. A whole literature has sprung up about him, which continues to grow and enlist public interest a whole century after his death. It may therefore be taken for granted that he has contributed something new and of abiding value to the world's fund of knowledge. And while Novalis will cease to be magnified and will no longer be idolized, he will still not be destroyed, but will have a high and distinctive place in the annals of German poetry.

When Novalis died (March 25, 1801), he was well-nigh unknown to the public. Only a fraction of his works had been published: a cycle of poems ("Blumen") and political aphorisms ("Glaube und Liebe") in the *Jahrbücher der preussischen Monarchie* (1798), several *Fragmente* ("Blütenstaub"), and a long, somewhat obscure poem ("Hymnen an die Nacht"), in the *Athenaeum*, the literary organ of the Romantic school. The novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* remained a fragment.

The members of the first Romantic school deeply mourned the loss of their young friend. His early death shed a romantic halo over the incidents of his life, which were in themselves sufficiently pathetic. His works became a sacred legacy to them. When the plan was discussed to finish *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, Friedrich Schlegel quite indignantly expressed himself against it. In the Introduction to the first edition of Novalis' works published jointly by Tieck and Friedrich Schlegel, a year after the poet's death, the editors declined commenting on his writings.

It cannot be our purpose [says Tieck] to recommend the following works, or to judge them. Any judgment delivered at this stage of the matter would be a premature and unripe one; for a spirit of such originality must first be comprehended, his will understood, and his loving intention felt and replied to, so that not till his ideas have taken root in other minds and brought forth new ideas, shall we see rightly, from the historical sequence, what place he himself occupied, and what relation to his country he truly bore.¹

This edition of Novalis' works attracted little attention. It was not even mentioned by contemporary critics. The literary and aesthetic journals in Berlin, Leipzig, and Jena, on the whole hostile to the Romantic movement, ignored the poet entirely and maintained an aristocratic reserve as to his writings. However, Schlichtegroll's *Nekrolog*² brought forth a short biographical article on Novalis from the pen of the *Kreissamtmann* (district magistrate) Just. This article is important for various reasons. It was written, before the "romantische Legende" about Novalis was known, by a man who knew Novalis better than anyone else and who remained intimately associated with him, especially at the critical period in his life. Just bears testimony to the faithfulness with which Novalis applied himself to his duties in the salt mines; he describes him as a practical business man, being able to adjust himself to the plainest duties of life. He writes:

From all he sought to learn. He patiently studied the merest trifles and peculiarities which present themselves for observation in each particular salt mine, and devoted to this matter the utmost pains. . . . He was not unfitted for the work by his great power of thought and poetic

¹ Cf. reprint in Minor's Introduction to *Novalis Schriften* (Jena, 1907), I, p. iii.

² Gotha, 1805, IV, 181-241. Reprint Minor, I, pp. xlix ff.

aspirations, but the reverse. . . . Many hours he spent in the mines with the air of one confused who dwells in another region, but still in his inmost spirit he worked constantly with the possibility of practical improvement always before him. . . . I had to exert all my faculties to satisfy his keen spirit of investigation, which could never rest satisfied with any commonplace, routine views. . . . He was perfectly at home among men of business, and was admired by all associates in the mines for quite other qualities than literary ones. Everything he did, he did thoroughly, never superficially.¹

Referring to the time after the death of his betrothed, Just remarks that Novalis had risen above the morbid sentiment and fancy which had threatened to paralyze his powers, and began to look forward to noble work in the world. In spite of the fact that his heart was deeply wounded, his fancy was alert, not wildly, but under the strong constraint of judgment; and ever afterward, to the end, his life appears to have been more than usually cheerful and happy.²

I am quite satisfied that Just had a definite purpose in view when he so strongly emphasized these characteristic traits of his friend. It is abundantly evident that, in the Romantic circle, Novalis was considered a tragic person, a mystic, a ghost-seer, a visionary enthusiast, a St. John, a new Christ. "He has palpably changed," Fr. Schlegel writes, "his face has become longer; he has the veritable eyes of a ghost-seer; they have a lusterless stare." And again, in addressing Novalis, he says: "Your spirit stood nearest to me in my efforts to lay hold upon the truths of the unseen world. . . . I purpose to establish a new religion, or rather to help promulgate it. But perhaps you are better suited for the Christ of the new gospel, who will find in me a valiant apostle."³ The same term is used by Dorothea Veit with reference to Novalis.

Schleiermacher bewails the early death of his beloved friend in the following words: "No doubt Novalis, in addition to all else, would have become a great artist if he had been vouchsafed us longer. That, however, was impossible. He was a tragic person for this world [*ein dem Tode Geweihter*]. And even his very fate seems to be a part of his real nature."⁴ In one of his "Discourses on Religion" he speaks of Novalis as—

¹ Cf. Minor, pp. lx, lxxiv, lxxv.

² Cf. Minor, p. lxxv.

³ Cf. Minor, *Fried. Schlegel's Jugendschriften*, II, 307.

⁴ Cf. Dilthey, *Aus Schleiermachers Leben. In Briefen* (Berlin, 1860), I, 324.

the divine young man, too early fallen asleep, to whom everything which touched his soul was art, whose whole contemplation of the world became a mighty poem, who, although he did scarcely more than utter the first tones of his voice, must be numbered among those rare spirits to whom is granted no less depth than clearness of life. In him we behold the power at once of the enthusiasm and the self-possession of a reverent mind; and we must confess that, when all philosophers shall be religious and seek for God, like Spinoza, and all artists shall be pious and love Christ, like Novalis, then will the mighty resurrection of both worlds be inaugurated.

A. W. Schlegel, in speaking of Novalis, uses this simile: "He was like a bird of passage, tired from its flights over immeasurable oceans, stopping on a green island, and forgetting there its former fatherland, and the vast regions of free thought."

Tieck, with whom Novalis formed a life-long friendship, was the first to bring Novalis before the public. In the Preface to the first edition of the collected writings of the poet (1802; reprint in Minor's edition of Novalis' works, Vol. I) he gives a sketch of the author's life. But Tieck presents the personality of Novalis in only one attitude. He magnifies the romantic and mystical element in his friend, and leaves others wholly out of view. Most readers, even highly educated ones, rested content with the ideas derived from this sketch, and were not impelled to a study of Novalis' works for themselves. To many it seemed irreverent to take up a critical analysis of his writings. This is the case with Carlyle, who brought Novalis' works to the notice of the English people.

It is a most generous eulogistic tribute which Tieck pays his friend:

Thus died, before he had completed his twenty-ninth year, our excellent friend, in whom all must esteem and admire as well his extensive knowledge and philosophical genius as his poetical talents. As he was so much beyond his age, his country might have expected from him extraordinary things had he not been carried off by a premature death. Still the unfinished writings he has left behind have already exerted much influence; and his mighty thoughts will stir up enthusiasm in many a breast and generous spirit, and deep thinkers will feel themselves enlightened and enkindled by the sparks of his genius.¹

Speaking of the time immediately following the death of his betrothed, Tieck says:

¹ Cf. Minor, I, p. xx.

At this period Novalis lived only for his grief; it had become natural to him to consider the visible and invisible world as but one, and to separate life and death only by his desire for the latter. For him existence assumed a glorified aspect, and his whole life flowed along as in a clear conscious dream of a higher state of being. The sanctity of grief, deep inward love, and pious aspirations after death, pervaded his whole being and all its creations; nay, it is very possible that it was this period of profound sorrow which sowed in his constitution the germs of death, had it not been his predestined fate to be snatched away from us so early.¹

As to the second engagement of Novalis, Tieck finds it necessary to make a sort of apology that his friend should have been affianced to another girl a year after the demise of Sophie. He admits that "perhaps to any but his intimate friends it may seem singular"; he asserts, notwithstanding, that "Sophie remained the center of his thoughts; nay, as one departed, she received from him a worship almost more devoted than when she was yet visible and near." And hurrying on, almost as over an unsafe subject, Tieck declares that Novalis "felt, nevertheless, as if beauty and amiability might, in some degree, compensate the loss he had sustained."² And so Tieck leaves us to our own reflection on the matter.

It was mainly due to Tieck that a "romantische Legende" about Novalis was formed and spread. The poet was considered a gloomy, melancholy mystic, a poetic dreamer, reveling in remote spiritual realms of fancy, a ghost-seer and visionary enthusiast, brooding over his loss, living only for his grief, a seraphic figure, "born on this earth, as it were, by a divine mistake, his eyes turned heavenward, waiting anxiously for the time of release from the bondage of earthly limitation."³

There is certainly a bit of truth in this characterization of Novalis, but unfortunately this has become the entire truth. Just was intensely surprised at this, and took a great deal of pains to put the matter in a true light and refute the wrong impressions. He represents Novalis as a cheerful, happy person, a zealous, conscientious, and steady official, a practical and trustworthy business man; not as a moping recluse, but as a partaker of worldly pleasures which appeal to youth.

¹ Cf. Minor, p. xiv.

² Cf. Minor, p. xix.

³ Cf. R. M. Wernier, *Romanticism* (New York and London, 1910), 212.

Steffens, who met Novalis at Jena and upon whom he made a profound impression, gives us an admirable characterization of Novalis.

There was an ethereal glow in his deep eyes; he was a poet in the truest sense. His whole existence, the whole meaning of life, was to him a profound mythos. From the world of mythical existence in which he lived the images of our own world looked out, sometimes clearly, sometimes obscurely. He cannot be called a mystic in the ordinary sense of the word, for the common mystic believes himself imprisoned by the world of sense, seeking behind it a profound mystery which is to reveal to him his true spiritual being and liberty, but to Novalis this sacred realm beyond was not an unsolvable mystery, but his original home, clearly perceived by him; from here, he looked out upon the world of sense and judged its relations. This mythos, instinctively a part of his nature, opened to him the secret doors of philosophy, the sciences, the arts, and the minds of great men. The wonderful charm and melody of his style were not the result of study, but the natural expression of his being; therefore he was as much at home in the scientific world as in the world of poesy, and the profoundest thoughts could no more conceal their relationship with the fairy tale than the most fantastic fairy tale could conceal its hidden meanings.¹

Adam Müller, a mystic and reactionary thinker, a typical example of Romantic politics, who, as Gottschall has aptly said, pursued in politics the quest of Novalis' blue flower, delivered in 1806 a series of lectures on German literature and science, in which he speaks of Novalis with unstinted praise. He calls him the restorer of Platonic idealism in literature and science. "If ever a man seemed called to the office of an intermediary between German science and science in general; in short, if ever one seemed destined to be a reincarnation, under fundamentally different conditions, of Plato himself—that man was Novalis. He wished to conquer the world with the spirit of poetry."²

Of all the members of the first Romantic school Schelling is the only one who does not share the enthusiasm of his fellow-members for Novalis. He allows his satirical wit free play whenever he speaks of him. When A. W. Schlegel sent him Novalis' works, he wrote: "I cannot endure this levity of trying one's hands on objects without exhausting one of them."³ And we know that the poem

¹ Cf. Steffens, *Was ich erlebte*, IV, 320 ff.

² Adam Müller, *Vorlesungen über die deutsche Wissenschaft und Literatur* (1807), 73.

³ Plitt, *Aus Schellings Leben* (Leipzig, 1869), 431-32.

"Heinz der Widerporst," which contains Schelling's epicurean confession of faith, was principally directed against Novalis.

Goethe, who at a certain time of his life stood very close to the Romanticists, although never a partisan of them—he followed a different ideal—appreciated the genius of the poet Novalis. According to Joh. Falk, he is supposed to have said: "Novalis was not a supreme genius, but in time he might have become one. It's a great pity that he died so young, especially in view of the fact that he had obliged his age by becoming a Catholic."¹ That this latter statement is wildly astray no student of Novalis will need to be told. Goethe, or rather Falk, no doubt had in mind the younger brother of the poet, Karl von Hardenberg, who had turned Catholic.

Schiller, as is well known, always maintained ostensibly a very cool and critical attitude toward the efforts of the Romantic writers. The romantic idealism of Novalis did not appeal to him. He rejected his enthusiasm for the Middle Ages; his morbid mysticism and predilection for Catholicism were repugnant to him. Schiller's wife, however, admired the genius revealed in the works of the young poet. In her sorrow over the death of her husband she found consolation in his writings, and his poems brightened her sad hours. The charm and simplicity of his thoughts deeply moved her and gave her new inspiration.

Theo. Körner showed special interest in Novalis' "Hymnen." He finds in them "viel Gutes," and is greatly pleased with the "lieblichen Bilder."

J. Paul, on the other hand, maintained, throughout his life, a rather critical attitude toward Novalis. He calls him "einen Seiten- und Wahlverwandten der poetischen Nihilisten, wenigstens deren Lebensvetter."² He places Novalis among those gifted men, "bei deren wahrer, echter Tendenz man den Mangel von einem oder mehreren Beinen nachsehen müsse," and compares him with the "Mannweiber, die im Empfangen zu zeugen glauben." The productions of Novalis, he says, are "teils Sternchen, teils rote Wolken, Tautropfen eines schönen, poetischen Morgens."³

¹ Joh. Falk, *Goethe aus näherem persönlichen Umgange dargestellt* (Leipzig, 1836), 99.

² Cf. *Werke* (Hempel ed.), XXXIX, 27.

³ *Ibid.*, 392.

In the second edition of Brockhaus' *Conversationslexicon* (appeared 1812-15) we find this statement: "We can say, without being misunderstood, that Novalis was a poetic mediator between God and mankind, a divine youth and celestial being, who came from the spirit world, passed over earth, and returned again, but too soon, to what he regarded as his true home."

The poets of the so-called "Spätromantik" show great admiration for Novalis, with the possible exception of Achim von Arnim and Cl. Brentano. When the former read *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, he exclaimed: "This stupidly pedantic peasants' jargon all through it, this boring fairy-story, if one cannot guess at its meaning and with its lack of significance, if one does not know it."¹ And Brentano fully agrees with him: "Concerning *Ofterdingen* I agree with you. All the characters in it seem to have fishes' tails, all flesh seems to be salmon. In reading it I feel a queer physical repulsion."²

The mystical, fantastic Zach. Werner, the *bête-noire* and representative-in-chief of mysticism in German literature, compares Novalis with Wackenroder, using the term "Sionsblumen, die zu früh schon geknickt wurden." He writes: "Of all the new saints I recognize only the saint Novalis."³ He calls him the "incomparable genius for art who has returned to the light which mirrored itself in him." Novalis and Werner had much in common: the allegorical allusions, the mystical sensuality, and the "Todeserotik." Like Novalis, in his *Ofterdingen*, so Werner, in a number of romantic melodramas, describes his heroes as monkish ascetics, religious mystics, and spirits who wander on earth in the guise of harp-players. One of his plays opens significantly with a scene of the Novalis-type, miners going down into and being drawn up from a mine.

Eichendorff, to whom Novalis opened a new dream-world, rich in promise, recognizes Novalis as a great poet. He declares him an apostle of modern times, the most sincere and perfect representative of the first Romantic school who had the courage to tell the educated people of his time plainly and frankly that modern culture is based entirely on Christianity and must be traced back to this

¹ R. Steig, *Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano*, 41.

² *Ibid.*, 51.

³ Poppenberg, *Zach. Werner* (Berlin, 1893), 54.

foundation, if it is to be of any value. "The poetry of Novalis," he says, "is a prophetic poetry, a poetry of the future and of longing; his spiritual songs are incomparably beautiful 'durch ihr herzliches Heimweh.'"¹ Eichendorff says that Novalis intended to build up a church which should comprise all religions, without any special dogma and definite organization.²

The poet of the blue flower almost became a blue flower to E. Th. A. Hoffmann, beyond question the most brilliantly endowed of the later Romanticists. His nature is, in many respects, similar to Novalis', and he has borrowed many motives from him. In the *Serapionsbrüder* we find many references to Novalis and his works.³ The narrative of the old miner in *Ofterdingen* occurs again in almost the same form in Hoffmann's *Bergwerken*. And in emulation of Novalis' *Ofterdingen* Hoffmann narrates a contest of minstrelsy on the Wartburg. In the *Phantasiestücke* he pays a high tribute to Novalis:

The blue flower reminds me of a dead poet, who belonged to the purest that ever lived. His childlike mind reflected the purest poetry and his pious life was a hymn dedicated to the highest Being and the wonders of Nature. In order to understand him it is necessary to descend with him into the deepest depth and to bring to light, as from an eternally productive mine, all the wonderful combinations by which Nature welds her appearances into one; a task for which, to be sure, most men lack inner strength and courage.⁴

Heinrich von Kleist was profoundly impressed by the personality and writings of Novalis, as may be seen from his correspondence with his sister. He intended to publish the works of the poet and asked Wieland's advice in this matter. His biographer tells us that a copy of the "Hymnen an die Nacht" was found beside him, when he, together with Henriette Vogel, committed suicide.

Thus we see that in the first quarter of the nineteenth century Novalis enjoyed wide popularity. We must, however, bear in mind that the gentleness, sincerity, and piety of the young poet tended to make his admirers blind to the defects of his writings.

¹ Cf. Jos. Freiherr von Eichendorff, *Geschichte der poetischen Literatur Deutschlands* (Paderborn, 1866 [3d ed.]), 20-21.

² *Ibid.*, 26.

³ Cf. *Werke* (Grisebach ed.), VII, 15; cf. also p. 63.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 132.

Meanwhile Novalis began to attract notice from the critics and literary historians. Koberstein, in his treatment of the Romantic movement (*Deutsche Nationalliteratur*, 1st ed., 1827), tries to separate Romanticism from the literary circle in Berlin, especially from the society of the Jewish salons, that group of clever young Jewesses who represented the noblest, freest intellectual life of Berlin. However, Koberstein entirely misunderstood the tendency of this circle. He declares that Novalis was at one time, to all intents and purposes, a Catholic. He is quite emphatic in his treatment of the matter, asserting not only the Catholicism of Novalis, but taking him as the special type and spokesman in this respect.

Novalis [he says], in his whole religious way of thinking, and according to his historical views—however near the former might approach pantheism—inclined toward Catholicism in its mediaeval hierarchical form and historical significance. From his fragment ["Christenheit oder Europa"] can best be seen what ideas relating to religion and its connections with all the higher directions of life, were talked about at that time [1799] in the circle of Romanticists at Jena, what hopes they connected with a rebirth of true Catholicism.¹

Such a suspicion that Novalis was a Catholic could only have arisen through forgetfulness of the fact that, at the serene elevation at which Novalis habitually dwelt, the little geometric fences which cut up the great field of Christianity into petty angular sectarian garden-spots were almost invisible.

Koberstein's discussion of the "Hymnen an die Nacht" and "Geistliche Lieder" abounds in the highest praise for this poetry, but with regard to *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, he blames the author for obscurity. He calls the work "a dreamy and misty structure of the imagination in which now reality became vision, now vision became reality, and where at last everything results more or less in mysticism and allegory."²

In 1827, Wolfgang Menzel, well known as a critical and polemic writer of the National school, published his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*. This work is an interesting document of the literary taste of the age. Menzel was a hot-headed graduate of the patriotic

¹ Cf. Koberstein (5th ed., 1873), IV, 794 f.

² *Ibid.*, 816.

student clubs and became the leader of a crusade against Goethe's sovereignty in German literature, leading his attack with a display of cleverness and wit which was worthy of a better cause. Menzel draws a comparison between Goethe and the Romantic writers, especially Tieck and Novalis, and attempts to pit the former against Goethe as the true successor in the line of German poetry. He takes the stand that German Romanticism was opposed to the French Revolution and its consequences, as well as to its primitive cause, i.e., the modern element. "In Novalis," he says, "the mystic-mindedness of the ancient Romanticism seemed again revived. He had no sympathy with single or limited phenomena; only the whole world could be the matter which he undertook to treat in a poetical spirit."¹ The novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* contains the poet's entire philosophy. In this work Novalis—

entertained the monstrous thought of showing the universe on its poetical side, even on every poetical side at the same time; of linking together everything that has a being, nature, mind, and history, in one boundless poetry; of building together every imaginable beauty in one great cathedral of poetry. He has therefore adopted not merely heaven and earth into his poem but also the views, the belief, the myths of all nations. Yet the too presumptuous poet was overcome by the richness of the matter; he was like the Titan, when he attempted to become God, crushed under the mountains which he himself had piled up. What remains of his work, is an immense torso, broken before it was completed, an Egyptian temple, on a gigantic plan, only begun, yet already half destroyed, and covered with hieroglyphics.²

The characters in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* are mere personified ideas incorporated into the mighty system of ideas. Menzel greatly admired the lovely simplicity of the lyric poems; they form, as he says, a moving and surprising contrast to the world-allegory *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* and the *Fragmente*.³

The journal *Isis*, founded by Oken, professor of medicine in Jena, in 1829, contained a short article under the title, "Novalis, ein Naturdichter." The author, Theodor Brück, points out that in Novalis poetic and nature-sense were intimately united. "In Novalis the spirit of poetry and the sense for nature have interpenetrated each other completely, even though the first is occasionally

¹ Menzel, *German Literature*, IV, 134.

² *Ibid.*, 140.

³ *Ibid.*, 140

predominant. His poetry is animated by nature; his view of nature inspired by poetry."

The members of the literary group called Young Germany are on the whole hostile to the Romantic movement. They repudiate the Romantic spirit and laugh to scorn the "mondbeglänzte Zaubernacht," and the quixotic search for the "blaue Blume." They place themselves in direct opposition to the dream- and wonderland of the fantasy of the Romantic writers, and turn from metaphysical dreams and mediaeval poetry to the social questions of the moment, from sentimental enthusiasm and pietistic mysticism to realistic study and practical activity. These Young Germans had neither understanding nor sympathy for Novalis; to them he offered little and promised even less. His mystic fervor, his dream-world of mediaevalism, his longing did not appeal to these reformers.

By far the most gifted of these writers is Heinrich Heine. His essay *Die romantische Schule* is a most fascinating book, which is equally remarkable for its "epigrammatic brilliancy, its striking originality, and its utter injustice and unreliability." The object of the book is a satire on the Romantic school, dictated by the author's radicalism as well as his sagacity. There is a mixture of truth and justice in all he says, while his prejudices are so obvious as to bring their own antidote with them. Heine labors under one great disadvantage; he isolates the phenomena and sets aside too harshly the law of historical development. He attacks the movement to which he nominally belonged, with a mockery and bitterness of which Heine alone is capable. But even Heine, so bitterly hostile to what he termed "the neo-Teutonic-religious-patriotic school of art," forgets his scornful criticisms in the presence of the beautiful soul of Novalis. He pities Tieck, he assails the Schlegels with unspeakable fury and contempt; but the life and spirit of Novalis touch the poet's heart, and he speaks almost affectionately of the sad "mystic who saw all about him only wonders, and those, too, wonders of beauty, who learned the language of the plants, who knew the secret of every budding rose, who identified himself at last with all Nature, and when autumn came and the leaves fell, bowed his head, too, meekly, and died."¹ "Novalis," Heine continues, "is a true mystic and

¹ *Sämliche Werke* (Elster ed.), V. 301.

belongs to those poets who are absorbed with all their human feelings into Nature and at last begin to feel in common with it."¹ In comparing Novalis with Hoffmann, he remarks:

Hoffmann did not belong to the Romantic school, but Novalis was really a poet of that kind. Men of true genius and poetic nature by far preferred Novalis. But Hoffmann was as a poet far superior to Novalis, for the latter never touches the earth with his ideal forms, while Hoffmann, with all his old imps, sticks to earthly reality. The great resemblance between these poets lies in this, that in both their poetry is really a malady, and in this relation it has been declared that judgment as to their works was rather the business of a physician than of a critic.²

We know Heine's story of the young girl, sister of the postmistress near Göttingen, who read consumption out of Novalis' romance *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*.³

Heinrich Laube, one of the leaders of Young Germany, expresses his view on Novalis, in his *History of German Literature* (1840), in these words:

Novalis is the genuine bird of paradise of whom it is said that he is without feet and must always float in the air. Everything in him is raised above the common earth. To him all poetry is magic. He is the pure and youthful type of the Romantic idea, with all its malady and beauty. He was himself ill, ill unto death, from his youth on, but clothed in and transfigured by the rosy breath of earthly yearning. The seed of an early death arising from his pulmonary disease attuned all his organs to seraphic vibrations, purified every impulse to disembodied ecstasy.⁴

Theo. Mundt, another leader of the Young Germans, and professor and university librarian in Berlin, in his *Geschichte der Literatur der Gegenwart* (1843), points out the interrelation between the Romantic movement and Young Germany. In his discussion he calls the Romanticists the poetic apostles of human rights and enjoyment of life. It would be interesting to see how Mundt would apply this definition to the personality and writings of Novalis. Unfortunately he does nothing of the kind. His view on Novalis is more or less an echo of Laube's utterances. "Novalis," he says, "exhausted himself to force everything into his inner nature. While he, so to speak, concentrated himself always upon the centrality of his inner life, he

¹ *Sämtliche Werke* (Elster ed.), V, 301.

² *Ibid.*, 302.

³ *Ibid.*, 304.

⁴ Cf. III, 152 f.

preserved neither freedom enough nor power enough to step out of the circle and there to objectify to himself the content of his own soul."¹

Of all the members of Young Germany none seems to have entered so deeply into Novalis' character as Arnold Ruge, in his *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte der neueren Zeit*, a work which at the present time is almost forgotten, which however contains many just criticisms of writers and deserves to be quoted more frequently than has been the case. With characteristic penetration Ruge attempts to indicate the precise position of Novalis in the Romantic movement. He gives a sympathetic account of his works; he regards Novalis as the St. John of the new gospel, the spiritual father of Romanticism. The inner world of Novalis is the soul, with its strange nocturnal gloom, in which he melts down everything to find, at the bottom of the crucible, as the gold of the soul, night, disease, mysticism, and voluptuousness. "Mysticism is a fundamental element in the art of Novalis, and it gives charm and color to his descriptions."²

The South German poets, generally called the Swabian school of poetry, are friendly to Novalis. Ludwig Uhland has drawn inspiration from him and imbibed a warm form of thought and feeling and a number of productive impulses. Justinus Kerner quite frequently refers to Novalis in his letters. He is surprised to hear that Novalis was an entirely different person in life from what he had inferred from his writings. He writes to Uhland: "It makes a strange impression and is very annoying to imagine Novalis as an official [*Amtshauptmann*]."³

Gustav Schwab and F. H. Meyer, also South German writers, greatly admired Novalis and eagerly read his works. And even the last Swabian poet, Joh. Georg Fischer, was fascinated by his writings and voiced his high appreciation in a long poem.

Hebbel and Grillparzer show a decided antipathy toward the young poet. In discussing Novalis' opposition to Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, Hebbel says: "Novalis is justified in calling *Wilhelm Meister* a prosaic novel only in so far as the entire world appears prosaic

¹ Cf. *Geschichte der Literatur der Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1846), III, 120.

² Cf. *Sämtliche Werke* (Mannheim, 1848), I, 249.

³ Cf. *Briefwechsel mit seinen Freunden*, I, 95.

to him."¹ In his diary we find this scornful utterance: "Novalis had the peculiar idea, because the entire world affected him as a poet, of making it the subject of his poesy. It is about the same as if the human heart, feeling its relation to the body, would draw in this entire body."² Hebbel agrees with J. Paul in calling Novalis "einen poetischen Nihilisten."

Grillparzer is even more severe in his condemnation of Novalis than Hebbel. "Novalisvergötterung des Dilettantismus," he writes, "ein Franz Sternbald, Objekt und Subjekt zugleich; ein Wilh. Meister, ohne Freibrief, in seinen Lehrjahren verfangen ewiglich."³

Among the older historians of German literature, Vilmar has contributed much toward spreading a higher conception of Novalis among his contemporaries. He seemed to have a true understanding of the full significance of his works. His discussion stimulated and did much to develop enthusiasm for the poet. Vilmar compares Novalis with the educated youth of his time; he maintains that Novalis has exercised by far a greater influence on German thought and ideals than the classics.⁴ He emphatically denies the idea that plain, practical people would get no help whatever from Novalis. The novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, however, Vilmar considers a failure as a work of art. He calls the style affected, inclined to be mystical and obscure, and pronounces the conception as well as the execution of the whole plan poor and unfortunate.⁵

The literary historian Gervinus, in his *History of German Poetry* (1835), treats the Romantic poets in a relatively small chapter and does not do them justice. He views them in the light of the excesses into which they fell. He asserts that Novalis was looked upon by his friends as the divine prophet of Romanticism. But their admiration and love was purely artificial, "eine Art literarische Mystifikation," whereby they tried to deceive the people. Already in the next generation many persons no longer knew that there was a poet Novalis, or who he was.⁶ Gervinus maintains the standpoint that Novalis was after all a prosaic nature, a clever rhapsodist, playing

¹ Cf. *Tagebücher*, II, 49.

² *Ibid.*, I, 386.

³ Cf. *Sämtliche Werke* (Sauer ed.), 18, 84.

⁴ Cf. *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur* (Marburg, 1886 [23d ed.]), 474.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 473.

⁶ Cf. Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (Leipzig, 1853), V, 655.

the rôle of a mystifier. He points out that his romanticism was the product of a morbid and perverse spirit in conflict with every healthy and progressive tendency of the age. The disease of his romanticism consisted in excessive subjectiveness, intense hyperidealism, and voluptuousness. Because his poetic eye was constantly turned inward, he was absolutely unable to produce any plastic form.

Hillebrand (*Deutsche Nationalliteratur im 19. Jahrhundert*) follows on the whole Gervinus. He looks upon Novalis as the apostle of mediaeval Catholicism.¹ In the romance *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, with every step the presentation falls more and more away into the incomprehensible. The poet concerns himself with the most supernal matters, which from their very nature cannot be embodied objectively. The work lacks firm delineation of life; everything is dissolved in a mist of transcendentalism and allegory. The "Hymnen an die Nacht" are deeply thoughtful notes, full of lament and melancholy rapture and burning pain. They represent a familiarity with darkness and death, with perfect freedom from their terrors.

A very scholarly work on the Romantic school, in its relation to Goethe and Schiller, appeared in 1850, from the pen of Hettner. The author shows in this book that both Goethe and Schiller shared in the error of supposing that a true poetry could be artificially created in an unpoetic age, that poetry did not have its source in its time and environment, but could venture to defy them. The common basis of the Romantic school and of the Classicists is idealism, but this idealism may be subjective or objective. Goethe, and to a less degree Schiller, were objective, and in so far they were realists; the Romantic poets abandoned reality wholly. They did not seek to create from it, but they set the imagination to overcome it. This phase of Romanticism attained to its most perfect type in Novalis' *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. "Novalis," Hettner says, "relegated everything to the inner life, the inner world. The visible world, with its material pleasure, seemed to him a chaotic dream; he created an invisible world, in which he lived while still bound by the flesh. . . . In the novel the poet lives only in the dream-wonderland of his fantasy. There is no *terra firma* here, but through all the sweetest lyric and frostiest symbolism are mingled, until

¹ Cf. Jos. Hillebrand, *Die deutsche Nationalliteratur* (Hamburg und Gotha, 1846), III, 315 ff.

at last all flows together in one great, bottomless allegory."¹ Novalis may be regarded as the most complete embodiment of that phase of Romanticism which he himself called magic idealism, a kind of hypermysticism based on Schelling's philosophy of the absolute, in which thoughts are confounded with things, and all natural phenomena reduced to symbols of ideas. The fragment "Christenheit oder Europa" is a memorable document of the Catholic views of Novalis. Hettner says: "Here the Catholicism of Novalis leaps up armored and victorious to meet us, as Athena at her birth leaped from the head of Jove."²

Hettner classes Novalis' hymns as the best that German literature has produced. In these songs Christian devotion speaks in the purest and most worthy form. In them the common Christian element is so pervasive that they are alike suited for all confessions. These songs form the bridge from the Romantic school to the people. Through them Novalis has exercised the most powerful influence upon the development of literature. They soon became, with the majority of the German people, the works *par excellence* of Novalis.

Summing up now in brief the main drift of the opinions of Novalis entertained by Germans during the first half of the nineteenth century, I may say: The members of the older Romantic school consider Novalis a mystic, a divine being, a tragic person, a ghost-seer, a new Christ. Schelling and J. Paul do not share the enthusiasm of their contemporaries for the young poet, but maintain a rather critical attitude toward him. The poets of the so-called "Spätromantik" show great admiration for him, with the possible exception of Arnim and Brentano. The general attitude of Young Germany, Hebbel, and Grillparzer toward Novalis is decidedly unfriendly. Among the older historians of German literature, Vilmar has contributed much toward a higher conception of the poet, while Menzel and Gervinus, on the other hand, play the rôle of uncompromising opponents of Novalis and the Romantic movement in general. Hettner's criticisms are sane and dispassionate, recognizing clearly the excellences of Novalis' works, but no less clearly their defects.

J. F. HAUSSMANN

MADISON, WIS.

¹ Cf. Hettner, *Die romantische Schule* (Braunschweig, 1850), 84. ² *Ibid.*, 167.

DUECHO ONCE MORE

In the course of a review of Hanssen, *Spanische Grammatik*, just published in *The Romanic Review* II 331, Mr. Lang devotes more than one page (334-35) to my etymology of *Duecho* (*Mod. Phil.* VII [09] 53). Although the tone in which his remarks are made is not warranted by the circumstances, I shall concern myself here wholly with questions of fact.

In § 2 (p. 54) of my article I make the following statement: "Lang, *ZrP.* XXXII p. 394, refers [in the body of an article]¹ for *doito de* etc. to O.Sp. *duecho* and Prov. *duch*, [and in a footnote (3) appended to *duecho*]¹ to Lanchetas (who deserves no mention),² to Menéndez Pidal, *Manual* § 122, 2 *ducho* < *ductu*, and to *ZrP.* XIX p. 535. Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, at the latter place, says: 'Ob [*doito*] auf *doctus* oder *ductus* zurückzuführen ist, steht übrigens noch nicht fest.' In a note appended to this statement she seems to favor *ductus*."

Mr. Lang (p. 334) says: "Prof. Pietsch pieced the first two of these notes [i.e. *ZrP.* XXXII 394 notes 3³ and 4]¹ and a shred of the passage to which they are appended together, and inserted this patch-work in his article as one of 'the previous attempts to settle the etymology of these forms' (i.e. *ducho*, *duecho*)."

It ought to be clear to Mr. Lang that a paragraph which specifically connects Du Cange-Carpentier and Foerster with the discussion of Fr. *duit*, Levy with Pr. *doch* . . . , Cornu and Lang with Port. *adoito* and *doito*, does not confine itself to a consideration of the forms *ducho*, *duecho* as Mr. Lang strangely assumes. And why I should be charged with piecing together two notes and a shred of the passage to which they are appended, when the attachment of the notes to the passage in question is the work of Mr. Lang himself, I do not understand. Furthermore, if Mr. Lang had read my statements with care, he would have seen that I do not in any part of my article suggest that he had discussed the origin of the Sp. forms *ducho*, *duecho*, nor do I

¹ Words in brackets are inserted by me. ³ I use only note 3; cf. *supra*.

² "inde irae et lacrimae."

credit to him any of "the previous attempts to settle the etymology of these forms." I specifically say that he "refers" to others. That in the body of his text Mr. Lang was concerned with the meaning of *doito* is true; but footnote 3 reads as follows:

"Lanchetas, s.v.; Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*² § 122, 2 *ducho* (lat. *ductus*). Vgl. zur Etymologie auch *Zeitschrift* 19, 535, Anm. 5."¹

I submit that nothing in this note indicated that the three lines devoted by Lanchetas to the etymology (which called forth my disparaging remark in regard to Lanchetas) were excluded from Mr. Lang's reference, and that the specific indication of the discussion of the etymology by Menéndez Pidal and the phrase "zur Etymologie auch" in the reference to ZrP XIX suggested that these lines, no less than the single line devoted by Lanchetas to the meaning, were contemplated in Mr. Lang's reference. It is clear then that I did not cite Mr. Lang as among those attempting to settle the etymology of any form of *duecho* or its congeners and that I was entirely accurate in the language I used concerning his reference to others.

I have already spoken of the curious misinterpretation by which Mr. Lang supposes that the only forms discussed by me are Sp. *ducho*, *duecho*. Having made this misinterpretation, it is perhaps not strange, but hardly fair, that he should substitute these Sp. forms for my own expression "these forms" (referring of course, as the context clearly shows, not only to the Sp. words but to cognate words in the other Romance languages). And it is particularly unfair in view of the use made of the substitution. Mr. Lang says: "In a similar way Foerster, *Rom. Stud.* III p. 181 on O.Fr. *duit* [I say "Fr. *duit*"; cf. *infra*],² Levy, *SW.* s.v. *duire* [I say "under *Dozer*, . . . under *Duire*"; cf. *infra*],² etc., Cornu, *Grundriss* I, 932, à propos of Port. *adoito*, are laid under contribution for 'previous attempts to settle the etymology of *ducho*, *duecho*.'" Anyone who reads my article, § 2, p. 54, will see that I was entirely explicit in citing Foerster, Levy, Cornu, and Lang for precisely the forms dealt with

¹ It is interesting to see how this note is rendered in *The Romanic Review* 334; "note 3 cites Lanchetas s.v. for the signification of *duecho* (and as his reference to Berceo is correct, he deserved no disparaging remark). Menéndez Pidal [Mr. Lang accepts my silent correction of "Pidal" to "Menéndez Pidal"]. *Manual* § 122, 2 for *ducho* [yet this word does not occur at all in the body of the article. Why was it cited?] and (Mrs. Vasconcellos) *Zr.P.* 19, 535 for her opinion on the derivation of *doito*—[the word "etymology" is twice avoided].

² Words in brackets are inserted by me.

by them and that the verb connected with each name indicated precisely what each had done; I said:

"Foerster derives Fr. *duit* from *doctum*"

"Levy enters *doch* under *Dozer*, *duitz* under *Duire*."

"Cornu connects *adoito* with *edoctus*. Lang, ZrP. XXXII p. 394, refers for *doito de* etc. . . ."

These and my other references to Romance forms follow the same order in which they are given in § 1, p. 53. I submit that my work should be judged by what I have written, not by what Mr. Lang has substituted in its stead.

Mr. Lang then sets forth how Diez, Kunst- und Hofpoesie 125, "quotes Sp. *ducho*," how Diez, Et. Wb. 564, "distinctly connects Sp. *ducho* with *ducere*," how Diez, Gramm. 537 (= II 185), "identifies O.Sp. *aducho* with *adductus*." And he concludes his article: "In so far, then, as it was at all necessary, in the light of its sense and of such words as *acueducto*, *aguaducho*, *conducta*, *conducho* (adj.) etc., to establish the etymology of *ducho* (and with this of dialectic *duecho*, quoted from Berceo and identified with *ducho* as early as 1885 by Cuervo, *Apuntaciones críticas* p. 477), this was done once for all by the Founder of Romance Philology in works still honored by scholars, and it is greatly to be regretted that his name should be so conspicuously absent in an article resuming this subject."

First. For Sp. *ducho* in general I refer the reader (§1, p. 53) to Cuervo, Dicc. s.v. Cuervo has about one column and a half (95 lines) on *ducho*, usage, history, and etymology. It would have been more than superfluous to refer to or cite, by the side of Cuervo, this note (one line) from Diez, KHp.: "*doito* (*doyto*) D. 34=*douto* gewöhnt, geübt; sp. *ducho*."

Secondly. For the etymology of *ducho* I refer the reader (§1, p. 54) to the statement of "Covarruvias (1674) s.v. *Ducho*: '*Ducho* vale tanto como acostumbrado, del verbo Latino *duco ducis*. xi. ductum'" Again it would have been more than superfluous to quote Diez, who centuries after Covarruvias came to the same conclusion. Furthermore, in §2, p. 55, the division beginning: "*Sanchez*," it is clear that I am dealing with what has been said about the etymology of *duecho* and not that of *ducho*. Diez has to the best of my knowledge nothing about *duecho*. There was no reason to mention his name.

Thirdly. Mr. Lang is wrong in saying that Diez has once for all established "the etymology of *ducho* (and with this of dialectic *duecho* . . .)." The honor of having definitely connected *duecho* with *ductu* cannot be claimed for Diez who does not even mention *duecho*. And Diez is too full of honors to miss this.

More might be said, but "sat prata biberunt."

Inasmuch as there is nothing in the fifty-two lines of Mr. Lang's remarks which either corrects or supplements my etymology of *duecho*, I profit by the opportunity to offer some additional matter collected since the publication of my first article.

Ad 1: Prim. Crón. Gen. 604 b 28 *somos duchos* (*duechos* O) *deste menester*. Florinea¹ (NBAE XIV) 164 b *cosa no duecha*.

Ad 2: I wish to emphasize Baist's statement: "*docho* fehlt kas-tilisch" and my own: "neither *docto* nor *doto* is found in Spain as early as *duecho*." And I would add that while *docere* is not attested either, there is much evidence for *ducere*. "There remains then only *ductu* as etymon."

Ad 3 I b: F. Juzgo 39 V. L. 22 Esc. 6 *fiecho* (Text *fecho*).

Ad 3 I d: F. Oviedo (Vigil) 13 *dientro* (F. Avilés 122 *dintro*). Vigil 67 b (1274). Caveda 63 (s. XVII); 75. La Olla asturiana 14. 29.

Ad 3 I e 1a: Altspan. Glossen 98 (ZrP XIX 7) *sen*.²

β: Staaff, L'ancien dialecte léonais 37, 36 (1246) *sien*. 164, 12 (1283). Cart. Eslonza 272 (1300). 273 (1302) *ssien*. 283 (1323). 310 (1347). 312 (1347) *ssien*.

Ad 3 II c: Ord. Çaragoça I 234 *nuena*.

Ad 3 II e: ZrP XXXIV 642 note 2 *bueytre(s)*.

Ad 3 II e α: Cart. Covarrubias (1907) 100 (1255) *mocho menos-cabada*. Ferreiro, Fueros municipales de Santiago y de su tierra I 380 (Carta dirigida por D. Fernando IV, desde Salamanca, el 15 de Junio de 1312) *mocho menguadas*.

Ad 3 II f β: Ord. Çaragoça I 277 *adueyto*.

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¹ Printed 1554.

² Cf. also Pribsch's note, ZrP XIX 21. For *senes*, *sines* see further Menéndez Pidal, Cantar I 391. To one instance for *sines* de cited at the latter place I would add Ord. Çaragoça I 266. 270. 271. On the other hand *de sin* occurs in Leyendas Mor. I 126. 131. 150. Finally I beg leave to mention Arag. *sins* (< *sines* ?), cf. Two Old Spanish Versions of the Disticha Catonis 15 note 55.

"AN EARLY TYPE OF STAGE"

G. P. Baker in *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist* (New York, 1907), gives, opposite p. 190, an illustration with the title: "An Early Type of Stage." There were certain features in connection with this that seemed even on first sight to be of some interest. The lettering—*Comedianten, Capitein der Teutsche Leib-guardi*—pointed apparently to German origin, while the construction of the stage appeared to me far more typical of the English comedians in Germany during the first quarter of the seventeenth century than the highly complicated reconstruction, a slight modification of Brodmeier's Shakespeare stage, offered by Kaulfuss-Diesch, *Die Inszenierung des deutschen Dramas an der Wende des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1905).¹

Mr. Baker could give no information regarding the provenance of his illustration, save that it had been taken from W. B. Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First* (London, 1865), where it appears opposite p. xc. Here, however, the title runs: *Comedians acting before Prince Charles [Cha^s I] at Madrid, 23 Mar. 1623. From a German Print in the Grenville Library, B.M.* Acting upon the hint offered by Rye and greatly aided by the able and willing assistance of the officials of the British Museum, I finally succeeded in locating the print, which is here reproduced for the first time in full.²

¹ Cf. a review of Diesch's publication in *Modern Language Review*, July, 1909, pp. 531 ff. Two views of his reconstruction Diesch gives on pp. 235, 236.

² By V. von Loga, of the Königliche Museen, Berlin, my attention was called to a somewhat enlarged copy of the engraving in Frantz Christoph Khevenhiller, *Annales Ferdinandei, Zehender Theil*, Leipzig, 1724, between cols. 136/137 (misprint for 236/237) and 238/239, with the title: "Einzug des Printzen von Engelland in Madrid, den 23. Marti Anno 1623." The general effect of this later engraving is the same, but a closer examination shows several differences. The verses are omitted, the few hints of Low German contained in the original have disappeared; *Madrill* has become *Madrit*; groups of spectators have been added; a second stage, of similar construction, has been placed on the right, facing the stage of the original. (In Khevenhiller's description we read, col. 240: "auf 6. hierzu aufgerichteten Buehnen sind 6. unterschiedliche Comoedien und Taentze gehalten worden.") Of special importance for us are only the changes in the costumes of the two fools. The one on the extreme right of the stage has lost everything characteristic in costume save the pointed cap, while the dancing fool on the left has an entirely new make-up, evidently of Italian origin. In other words, the old engraving has been in this respect brought up to date.

This engraving, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. long by $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide, is contained in a copy of *A True Relation And Iournall, Of The Manner Of The Arriual, and Magnificent Entertainment, giuen to the High and Mighty Prince Charles, Prince of Great Britaine, by the King of Spaine in his Court at Madrid*,¹ belonging to the Grenville Library of the British Museum, following p. 35. The print did not appear with the pamphlet, but was added at some later time with six other illustrations, and listed by hand as a "rare & curious print of P. Charles's Entrance into Madrid."

Regarding the ultimate origin of the engraving I have been able to discover but little, and this, I regret to say, principally in the form of conjectures. That in its present form it is a German *Zeitung* or *fliegendes Blatt* there can be scarcely any doubt; but is it a German original or merely the copy of perhaps an earlier English or Spanish print? On the whole I am inclined to believe the former. To mention a minor point—the important position of the *Capitein der Teutsche Leibguardi* in the picture and the evident pride with which he is pointed out incline me toward this view, although it may be replied that the figure is simply an addition of the patriotic German engraver. But there are, as we shall see, other and weightier grounds than this.

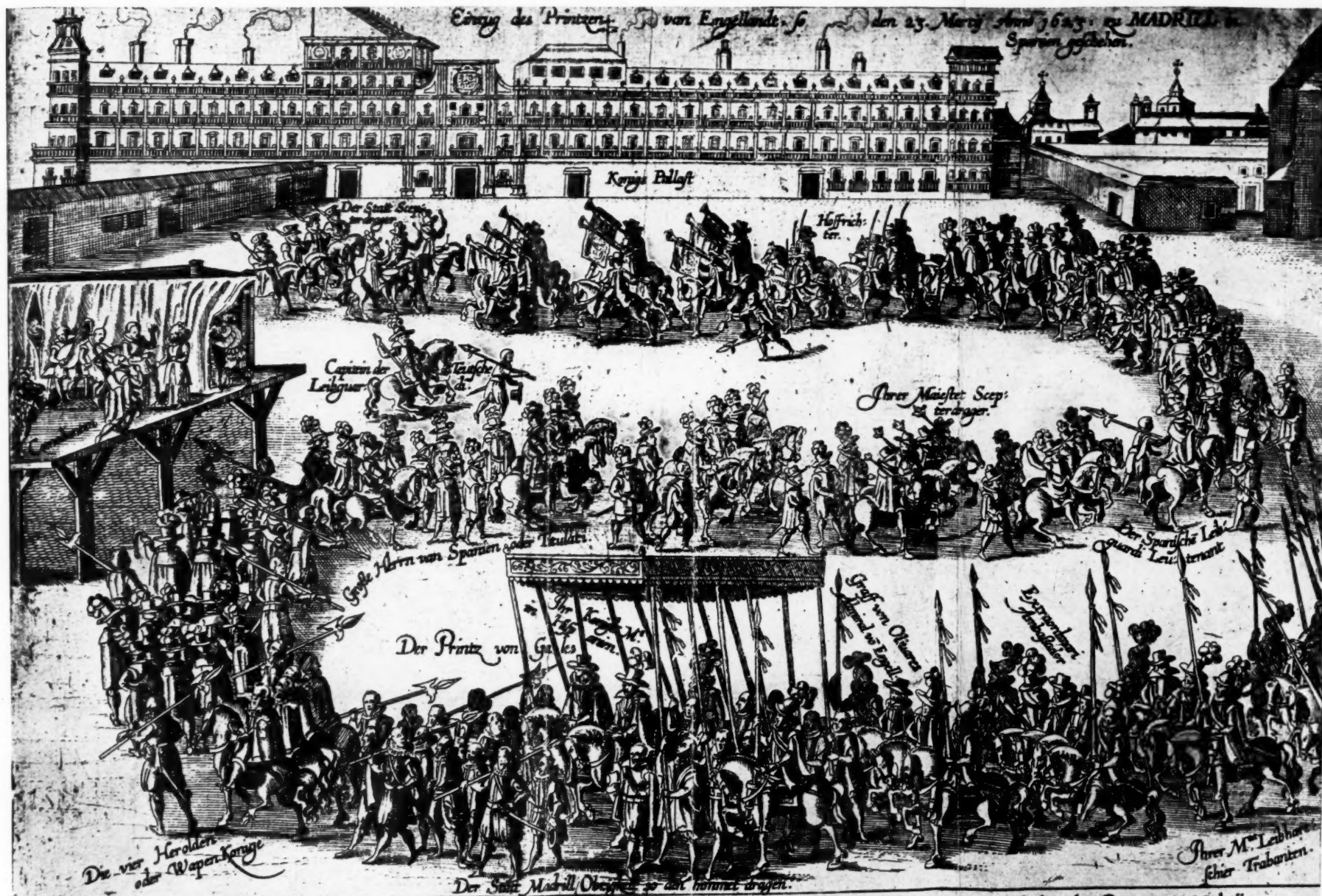
From the petition of the last line of the rhymes accompanying the engraving: "Gott geb dafs Frid dadurch werdt gmacht," it is evident that the print must have been issued in the year 1623, probably in the late spring or summer, as in the autumn of this same year the marriage negotiations between Charles and the Infanta were broken off;² after this the pious wish could have no meaning.

It has been suggested that the engraving is perhaps the work of Abraham Hogenberg, of Cologne.³ The time of Hogenberg's activity would seem to favor this view, as would also the few traces of Low German in the lettering—e.g., *drager* and *dragen*. Furthermore Cologne was one of the cities frequently visited by the English comedians, and so Hogenberg would have had ample opportunity of

¹ "Publiffed by Authority. London, Printed by Iohn Hauiland for Willam Barret. M.DC.XXIII." The call-number of this particular copy—for there are several in the Grenville Library—is G.6174. The pamphlet is reprinted in Nichols, *The Progresses of James I.*, IV, 818 ff.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*, X, 68 ff.

³ On Hogenberg cf. J. J. Merlo, *Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken kölnischer Künstler* (Köln, 1850), 185 ff.



König Jacob in Engelland,
Frid zu stiften in allem Landt,
Seinen Sohn Prinz Carls hochgeborn
Zu gemahlin hat außerkoren

Die Infantin in Spanien,
Derhalb auß groß Britannien
Hochmelter Prinz ganz vnbekandt
Gezogen ist aus seinem Landt

Sein verheissen Braut selbst zu sehn
Wie dan im Mercken ist geschehn.
Die zeit thut man Celebren
Mit ringebrennen und Thurnen

Da hochmelter Prinz zu Madrill
Dahin Er kommen war ganz still,
Gantz Königlich zu hoff wardt bracht
Gut geb daß Frid dadurch werd gemacht.

AN EARLY TYPE OF STAGE



witnessing their performances. But how Hogenberg or the unknown engraver procured the historical material for the print is a question which I cannot definitely answer: possibly from an eye-witness, or, what seems to me more probable, from *A True Relation*, etc., either in the original or a translated version. And this, for the order of the procession follows very closely the arrangement described in the pamphlet, where players by the way are also mentioned. The passage reads (*A True Relation*, etc., 24 ff.):

But as foone as they entred vpon the liberties of *Madrid*, they were expected and attended by foure and twenty *Regidores* of the towne, who had there a large Canopie of rich Tiffue, and it belonged to them by office to carry it ouer the King. . . . The King tooke the Prince vnder the Canopie, and kept him fttill on his right hand. Before them went the Courts and Minifters of Iuftice, then the *Grandes* and all the other principall Nobles of that Court in colours and great brauery, and they were attended by their followers in feuerall Liueries, which were very rich. Next after the King and Prince went the Lord *Marqueffe* of *Buckingham*,¹ and the *Conde de Oliuares*, executing the places of Mafters of the Horfe to them both, the *Conde* giuing the right hand to the Lord *Marqueffe*; and either of them had a Horfe of State, as the enfigne of the place he held. . . .

Then proceeded the Earle of *Bristol*² betweene the eldeft Councillour of State, and one of the Gentlemen of the *Kings* Chamber; and Sir *Walter Aston* after him, accompanied in like manner; the reft both of the Counfaile of State, and of the Gentlemen of the *Kings* Chamber following them. After whom went that goodly guard which is called *de los Archeros*,³ who were brauely clad and arraied.

In the way as the triumph paffed, all the ftreets were adorned, in fome places with rich hangings, in others with curious pictures, and heere and there certaine scaffolds were fprinkled, whereupon the bodies of thofe Counsellors fat to fee, which formerly had bene with the *Prince* to doe him reuerence. And in other ftreets of the fame paffage diuers representations were made of the beft Comedians dancers, and men of muficke, to giue contentment to that *Royall Paire*, as they paffed by.

In further matters of detail I can only add that the palace is, on the whole, a true reproduction of the "Old Alcázar."⁴ On the other

¹ Designated on the print as "Admiral vñ Engell:". Buckingham was created Lord High Admiral in the year 1619.

² Designated on the print as "Extraordinari Ambafador."

³ It is interesting, though not of any importance, to note that the name "-hartechler" of the print is of the same etymology as "Archeros."

⁴ Cf. Leonard Williams, *Toledo and Madrid: Their Records and Romances* (London, 1903), where, opposite p. 120, "The Old Alcázar" is given "Drawn by the Author, from a model."

hand the date—"den 23. Martij"—does not agree with that of *A True Relation*, etc. According to this the official entrance into Madrid took place Sunday, March 16, *stilo veteri*, which in modern reckoning would be March 26.¹ Further, both Charles and Philipp are apparently wearing the order of the Golden Fleece, an order which Charles never possessed. This is an error which a contemporary English or Spanish engraver would scarcely have committed.²

The form *Madrill*, also appearing in the doggerel verses, where *Madrill* rhymes with *still*, is apparently uncommon. Khevenhiller, as we have seen, changes this into *Madrit*. That however the form is not unknown may be seen from the fact that Prince Charles in writing from Madrid to his father, James I, dates the letter "Madrill the 10 of March 1623."³

The actors and the stage Rye discusses in the following significant sentence, which seems to have remained quite unnoticed (*England as Seen by Foreigners*, p. cx): "The performers are evidently exerting their utmost powers of gesticulation and action on the stage of their rude booth, which it seems probable was the kind of structure used by our own countrymen, when they were wont to figure, strut, caper, and declaim for the amusement of German and other foreign audiences." To this but little can be added. The stage itself is very similar in construction to that of the earlier School-drama in Germany and practically identical with the development of this into the stage of the Mastersingers.⁴ The peculiar oblique view which we receive seems to have been carefully considered by the engraver. A front view the procession rendered impossible, but we obtain as it is a much better idea of the entire stage and the action of the

¹ According to Khevenhiller, *Annales*, col. 239, this entrance occurred March 28, although the date given on his reproduction of the earlier engraving remains the same—"den 23. Martij." So far as I have been able to discover we have in both cases simple inaccuracies in recording dates, which is so characteristic of the time.

² On Khevenhiller's engraving no orders are to be found, though in the text (col. 240) it is stated: "der Printz aus Engelland und der Admiral führten die Rosen vom Orden des Hosenbandes mit Diamanten gestickt."

³ Nichols, *The Progresses of James I*, IV, 816. My attention was called to this reference by J. W. Cunliffe. It is perhaps a case of dissimilation, *d* to *l*. The *l* is also regularly found in *Madrileño*, *Madrileña*, a man or woman of Madrid.

⁴ Diesch, *Die Inszenierung*, § 3, "Das Schuldrama," and § 4, "Das Meistersänger-drama," both with bibliography. Illustrations of somewhat similarly constructed stages may be found in Karl Mantzius, *A History of Theatrical Art*, Vol. II (London, 1904), especially Figs. 15, 18, and 19.

players than would have been possible had a side view been given, i.e., had the stage been placed at an angle of 90 degrees.

What is new to Germany is the evident realism of the actors. One could not apply to the three players in the foreground, who are so clearly throwing themselves into their parts with much vigor, the standing formula of Hans Sachs, that they were here—

ein Tragedi zu recedirn
in teutscher Sprach zu eloquirn.

But just this realism and intensity of acting was thoroughly characteristic of the English players in Germany, was perhaps their chief legacy to the German stage. The figure on the extreme right of the stage is apparently the "Pickelhering";¹ that on the extreme left, with the close-fitting skull-cap, with long ears, and with bells on cap and mantle, has much the appearance of the typical court fool. Is it the "Morris-dancer," or perhaps the so-called "Springer" of the English comedians? Both "Pickelhering" and the actor peering out between the curtains seem to be listening intently to what is passing on the stage, "Pickelhering," indeed, with mouth wide open. Are they, perchance, supposed to be in hiding?

The position of the musicians on the stage is also to be noted. This is, so far as I know, the only illustration of the period that actually indicates a place for the orchestra, if we may call it such.² It will be remembered that *A True Relation*, etc., mentions "diuers reprentations made of the beft Comedians dancers, and men of muficke." So it may be argued that because of this the engraver felt compelled to introduce musicians and so located them to suit his convenience, without any reference to their usual position on the contemporary stage. On the other hand, however, it may be urged that in their present position in the background they certainly appear rather to be accompanying the actors in the foreground than to be giving a performance on their own account. Furthermore, music

¹ It must be admitted, however, that that figure shows only certain of the characteristics which contemporary illustrations and descriptions ascribe to the "Pickelhering." Cf. Koennecke, *Bilderatlas*, 2d ed. (1895), 171; Koennecke, *Deutscher Literaturatlas* (1909), 47; Dlesch, *Die Inszenierung*, 111. Still the tall, conical-shaped soft hat, the tight-fitting, short jacket, and the grimaces seem sufficient for identification.

² I am aware that it has been suggested that the persons seen in the balconies of the well-known pictures of the Swan and Red Bull theaters represent the orchestra; any evidence for the conjecture, however, I have not found.

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was from the start one of the most characteristic features of the performances of the English players. Not only were the "Sing-spiele" or "Jigs" sung to music, but in the texts that have been preserved we continually find stage directions such as: "*Die Spielleute geigen auf; Jetzt fangen sie an zu geigen; Die Spielleute fangen wieder an, geigen gar submitte, als dass man dabei reden kan; Unter dessen wird submitte musiciret*"; etc. Diesch, *Die Inszenierung*, 77, would locate the orchestra in the balcony of his reconstructed stage. That for certain of the plays of the English comedians a balcony is required, is to be conceded; a few stage-directions prescribe this and contemporary German dramatists, notably Jacob Ayler, make use of it under the name of *Zinne*. But Diesch advances no evidence that a balcony occupied by the orchestra was an invariable part of the stage of these wandering players. On the whole I am inclined to believe that the place here assigned the musicians very fairly represents their usual position.

I would not at all venture to assert that we have in this print an illustration of an actual performance of the English comedians in Germany, but I do believe that it represents with fair accuracy the general conditions under which these actors, styled by Fynes Moryson "our cast dispised Stage players, . . . having neither a Complete number of Actours, nor any good Apparell, nor any ornament of the Stage,"¹ produced their boisterous plays.

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¹ The reference from Moryson is quoted by Charles Harris, *Publications Mod. Lang. Assn.* XXII, 446.

NOTES ON MEDIAEVAL LYRICS

PAUL VON WINTERFELD'S CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS TO THE TEXT OF *HILARII VERSUS ET LUDI*

Prior to the acquisition by the University of Chicago of the *Handapparat* of the lamented Paul von Winterfeld, I was unable in more than a dozen passages to make sense of Hilary's verses (ed. Champollion Figeac, Paris, 1838). As several of these places have been mended for me by marginal notations in Winterfeld's handwriting, I feel that it is only fair both to my co-workers and to the memory of Winterfeld to publish these notes. They follow without comment of my own:

- Page 3, line 13, *for quadem read quadam.*
- 9, 3, *for infirmus read infirmum?*
- 9, 12, *for suam read Sodom.*
- 10, 20, *for dictavit read ditavit.*
- 10, 21, *for prodens read prudens, and omit preceding comma.*
- 10, 22, *for prudens read pudens.*
- 17, 12, *for tendem read tandem.*
- 21, 8, *for Et read 'E.'*
- 22, 19, *for (tibi) read (factus).*
- 32, 16, *for ferens read fetens.*
- 34, place periods at end of verses 8 and 12.
- 37, 10 *for portasti read portastis—"der schreiber trennte portasti sposita und liess in sp das s aus, wie immer."*
- 40, 5, *for supido read Cupido.*
- 41, 4, *for una read verna—"cf. ix, 6, 2 vernacula."*
- 57, *for Novis deus quod lacum*
 Nescio, neque locum
 De quo fit mencio—
read *Novit deus, quod lacum nescio*
 Neque locum, de quo fit mencio.
- 57, 22, *for leonem read leonum.*
- 60, 8 *for juxit read edixit.*

For sources or analogues, Winterfeld cites p. 20, l. 13, *Versus de hermafrodito*, 21, 5 Horat. *carm. I, 4*; 23, 17 *imag. in Carm. Bur.*

AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY LOVE SONG

For two years I have speculated about the song which I print and translate below; nor am I yet content with what I know about it. But I dislike to wait longer to present it, for it seems to me most important in what it implies: that earlier than we ordinarily imagine European poetry had the note of abandon, of reckless self-surrender, the erotic, personal note which we usually associate with the goliard Latin songs and the Provençal songs of the last part of the twelfth century.

There is nothing like our song in that beautiful treasury of ninth- and tenth-century lyrics and ballads, the so-called Cambridge MS, nor yet in other tenth- and eleventh-century MSS of poetry. These other codices, I not only grant but I insist, had poems more effective, more beautiful. But none of them to my knowledge contains a song so sensual and concrete as this.

Its poor author apparently could not make proper rhythms; he had not the art of rhyme; his imagery is largely that furnished him a thousand fold by saint's life, hymn, and sacred invocation. So far, then, as the whole manner of his verses is concerned—and much of his commonplace matter—they can be multiplied again and again from ecclesiastical and didactic literature of his and an earlier day. It is, however, not the poet's art that holds us.

But the *sichgehenlassen*—the frank confession—the lack of thought for the consequences; where else so early do we find them in an erotic piece which speaks in a warm breath of the mistress Flora, of flowers, and of spring? I do not argue; I ask. And none more glad than I, if other eleventh-century lyrics be brought to light which have the note of this one.

Eleventh-century? Why? The song is found in two MSS, one of the twelfth, the other of the thirteenth century. But its surroundings, in which are many eleventh-century pieces; its verbiage, which is still largely that of poems written by known eleventh-century authors; the very poverty and leanness of its whole manner and guise; its hesitant and unimaginative art—these seem to speak, in almost every line, of poetry written before the light and graceful schemes of rhyming which the twelfth and thirteenth centuries knew.

Let my reader study these things on his own initiative. Let him

turn from this song to the love lays of later MSS—Queen Christine, St. Omer, Benedictbeuern; and he will agree with me. And for philological aid in the matter I refer him to two articles by Wattenbach¹ and a recent, most adequate dissertation.²

Ambrosian flowers, the crocus fresh, the violet,
 Spring's lilies mingled with the tender rose,
 To me of no such beauty now appear,
 Nor yet with such a pleasing fragrance fraught
 As thou, my Flora, when thou spend'st thy sweets.
 These flowers, 'tis true, allure our outward sense,
 But thou mak'st glad the senses and the heart.
 Thou more than breathest forth their redolence,
 Yea, thou art essence of sweet Love itself.
 Ah, happy he, close-clasped in thy embrace,
 Who, sighing deep with bliss, drinks in the breath
 From thy half-opened lips which lure him on.
 When with the virgin's breast his breast is one,
 When he sips honey from her yellow combs,
 Then can no tardy prick of conscience come,
 Sickness and pain may torture him no more.
 And though dire winter with its killing frost
 Doth halt the rivers in their long career,
 Yet then comes spring with every ravishment.
 What more can heart desire? Ne'er mayest thou
 Discover aught more worthy of thy search,
 To such a treasure need no new be joined.³

¹ *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1891, 97–114; *Neues Archiv*, 1892, 351–84.

² Gertrud Stockmayer, *Ueber Naturgefühl in Deutschland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1910.

³ Ambrosie flores violeque crocique recentes,
 Vernaque cum teneris lilia mixta rosis,
 Non tantum forma nec odere placere videntur.
 Quantum, Flora, michi suavia dando places.
 Nempe luvant flores hos sensus exteriores,
 Tu vero sensus cordaque nostra foves.
 Nec tu, Flora, levem spiras michi floris odorem,
 Ipsius at flores dulcis amoris oles.
 Felix qui talem, qui te complexus odorem
 Sugit ab ore gemens semipatente tuo.
 Quid? cum virgineo cum pectore pectora iungit,
 Et libat flavis condita mellia favis,
 Non illum dure mordentes pectora cure,
 Non labor aut morbus sollicitare queunt.
 Quamvis bruma gelu labentia flumina sistat,
 Affluit hic vernis undique delictis.
 Ultra quid cupiat? nil iam reperire valebit,
 Hinc fortuna bonis addere nulla potest.

The theme of our song is a rare one to come down to us from Europe before Provençal love poetry. But it had many sister-songs, none the less, though our ears shall perhaps never hear them.

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A NOTE ON THE SWAN THEATRE

Ever since the DeWitt sketch of the Swan Theatre was discovered, scholars have been more or less troubled in reconciling various bits of evidence to the details of the stage there represented. W. J. Lawrence¹ and E. K. Chambers² have given sufficient reasons for believing that the drawing is not an accurate picture of an Elizabethan stage. Various writers, however, insist that we must accept the sketch as it stands. Among these is Neuendorff, the author of the latest, and, in many respects, the best work that has appeared on the Elizabethan theater. As a result he sometimes gets himself into difficulties, and quite naturally overemphasizes the significance of the *vorhanglose Bühne*. It is my object to point out a circumstance which, so far as I know, has not been noted in connection with the DeWitt drawing. In other words, I shall show that we have good reasons for believing that in November, 1602, the Swan Theatre was actually provided with both hangings and curtains.

In a letter to Dudley Carleton dated November 19, 1602, John Chamberlain, that "most intelligent and well-informed" gossip-gatherer of his time, has the following story:

And, now we are in mirth, I must not forget to tell you of a cousening prancke of one Venner, of Lincolns Inne, that gave out bills of a famous play on Satterday was sevenight on the Banckeside, to be acted only by certain gentlemen and gentlewomen of account. The price at comming in was two shillings or eighteen pence at least; and, when he had gotten most part of the mony into his hands, he wold have shewed them a faire paire of heeles, but he was not so nimble to get up on horsebacke, but that he was faine to forsake that course, and betake himselfe to the water, where he was pursued and taken, and brought before the Lord Cheife Justice [i.e., Sir John Popham], who wold make nothing of it but a jest and a merriment, and bounde him over in five pound to appeare at the sessions. In the meane time the common people, when they saw themselves deluded, revenged themselves upon the hangings, curtains, chaires, stooles, walles, and whatsoever came in their way, very outragiously, and made great spoile; there was great store of goode companie, and many noblemen.³

¹ *Eng. Studien*, XXXII, 44-48.

² *Stratford-on-Avon Shakespeare*, X, 361.

³ *Chamberlain's Letters* (ed. Sarah Williams, Camden Soc., p. 163).

This is, of course, an account of the famous *England's Joy* composed "to be played at the Swan¹ this 6th November 1602." Chamberlain's narrative sounds like the work of a member of the "great store of goode companie." That the details of his account can be accepted as accurate is shown by the various allusions in the literature of the period to this piece of gulling practiced by Richard Vennar, Venner, or Vennard of Lincoln's Inn. The piece, instead of being presented, as is often said,² took the turn described by Chamberlain; and "England's Joy" became proverbial for a theatrical disappointment.³ So notorious was the event that Vennar received the nickname of "England's Joy," and in 1614 published an *Apology*, very pious and very eulogistic of the King and one "Vennar of Lincolnes Inne, abusively called Englands Joy."⁴ The trick of advertising the actors as "certain gentlemen and gentlewomen of account" is referred to by Jonson in his *Masque of Augurs*,⁵ by Manningham in his *Diary*,⁶ and by Vennar himself.⁷ Vennar, too, mentions the exceptionally high price of admission;⁸ and the conduct of the "common people" at their disappointment is attested by John Taylor⁹ and possibly by Savile.¹⁰

In one respect Vennar's account has been thought to contradict Chamberlain,¹¹ but as a matter of fact it does not, since the ridiculous

¹ "Plot" reprinted in Park's ed. of *Harleian Miscellany* (1813), X, 198-99. The "plot," instead of being designed for prompter or as "a substitute for the ancient chorus," seems to have been an advertisement, an elaborate "bill," printed to attract the crowd.

² Gifford-Cunningham ed. of Jonson, III, 163; Ordish, *Early London Theatres*, 272; Fleay, *Chron. Hist.*, 149; Chetham Society, CVIII, 330-31; Thompson, *Works of Suckling*, 389; Collier, *Illustrations of Old Eng. Poetry*, III, Intro. to *Apology*. Collier (*Bibliog. Catalogue*, II, 467), not knowing of Chamberlain's letter, misunderstood the significance of Vennar's *Apology*. In his *Notes and Corrections*, p. xlv, he quotes Chamberlain's letter but neglects to correct his earlier statements. Schelling, *Chronicle Play*, pp. 131-33, gives a correct account of the production but in his *Elis. Drama*, II, 562, implies that it was actually presented. E. Irving Carlyle in *D.N.B.*, LVIII, 211, has straightened out the whole affair.

³ Cf. Jno. Savile's "Salutatory Poem to King James" (Arber, *Eng. Garner*, V, 636); Jonson's *Love Restored* (Gifford-Cunningham, III, 84); Spenser Soc. ed. of 1630 Folio of John Taylor's works, Pt. II, pp. 160-62.

⁴ Edited by Collier, *Illustrations of Old Eng. Lit.*, III. William Fennor in *The Compter's Commonwealth* (1617) tells a story of "Mr. Venard that went by the name of Englands Joy" (Collier, *Bib. Cat.*, I, 276).

⁵ Gifford-Cunningham, III, 163.

⁶ *Apology*, p. 10.

⁷ Camden Soc., p. 82.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7, 10.

⁹ Folio of 1630 (Spenser Soc., Pt. II, p. 160).

¹⁰ Arber, *Eng. Garner*, V, 636. Vennar puts the matter mildly by stating that his play was "hist" (*Apology*, p. 10).

¹¹ *D.N.B.*, LVIII, 211.

flight of the guller recorded in the letter is virtually admitted in Vennar's¹ statement that the unexpected appearance of certain beagles or bailiffs "changed the play into the hunting of the fox." The accuracy of the letter is shown by another circumstance. The plan of Vennar seems not to have been original, but probably to have been suggested by an incident described in *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions* (1567) where one "Qualitees" after advertising an "antyecke plaie" to be presented by "gentilmen" obtained possession of the cash-box, locked up the audience, and fled on a horse which he had stationed at a near-by inn.²

It is hardly necessary to state that the distinction between hangings and curtains at a Bankside theater is made by a person who was intimately acquainted with such things. Chamberlain's interest in court and university performances is well known.³ The letter quoted above as well as others⁴ shows a lively interest in the public places of amusement. That he could exercise the play-goer's privilege of criticism is revealed in his estimation of Chapman's *Humorous Days Mirth*.⁵ "We have here a new play of humors in very great request, and I was drawn alonge to it by the common applause, but my opinion of it is (as the fellow saide of the shearing of hogges), that there was a great crie for so little wolle."⁶

There is no reason, then, to doubt Chamberlain's assertion that curtains and hangings adorned the Swan on November 6, 1602. It may of course be argued that the production under consideration was not a play, but a special performance—"dumb show," "masque" or "spectacle"—and therefore the stage was fitted up after court fashion. I see no reason, however, for believing that Vennar spent much time or money in special adornments. In his *Apology* he rails at the "calumnies" of his "rude adversaries," emphasizes his "unjust sufferings," and implies that he did intend to have his production actually presented. Yet the evidence tells against him in this respect. His suspicious career, the whole tone of his *Apology*,

¹ *Apology*, p. 10.

² Hazlitt, *Shakespeare Jest Books* (Ed. 1881), pt. II, 145-47.

³ See Nichols, *Prog. of Jas., Court and Times of Jas. I.*, *passim*.

⁴ Chamberlain's *Letters*, Camden Soc., pp. 64, 177.

⁵ Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 184.

⁶ Letter of June 11, 1597 (Camden Soc., p. 4).

the similarity of his plan to that in the *Mery Tales*, the fact that his later description of his "devise" does not agree with the description which he had printed on broadsides to advertise his performance¹—all these things argue that he never really intended that his "devise" should be presented. It is possible, too, that the unexpected appearance of the "beagles" and the miscarriage of his plot resulted from a failure to provide the necessary "adornments" for his show. Be this as it may, the words of Chamberlain imply that in 1602 curtains and hangings were common things in London theaters; and they at least show that the Swan Theatre was *capable* of being fitted out with both. This fact, I believe, is of considerable significance.

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¹ Compare *Apology*, p. 10, and *Harleian Miscellany*, Park's ed., X, 199.

